

Peace News

for nonviolent revolution

No 2422 • February 1998 • £1

- Breaking ranks — a queer anti-militarism
- *Unarmed Bodyguards* reviewed
- What sort of power are we after?
- NATO marches eastwards
- Iraq — who pays the price?

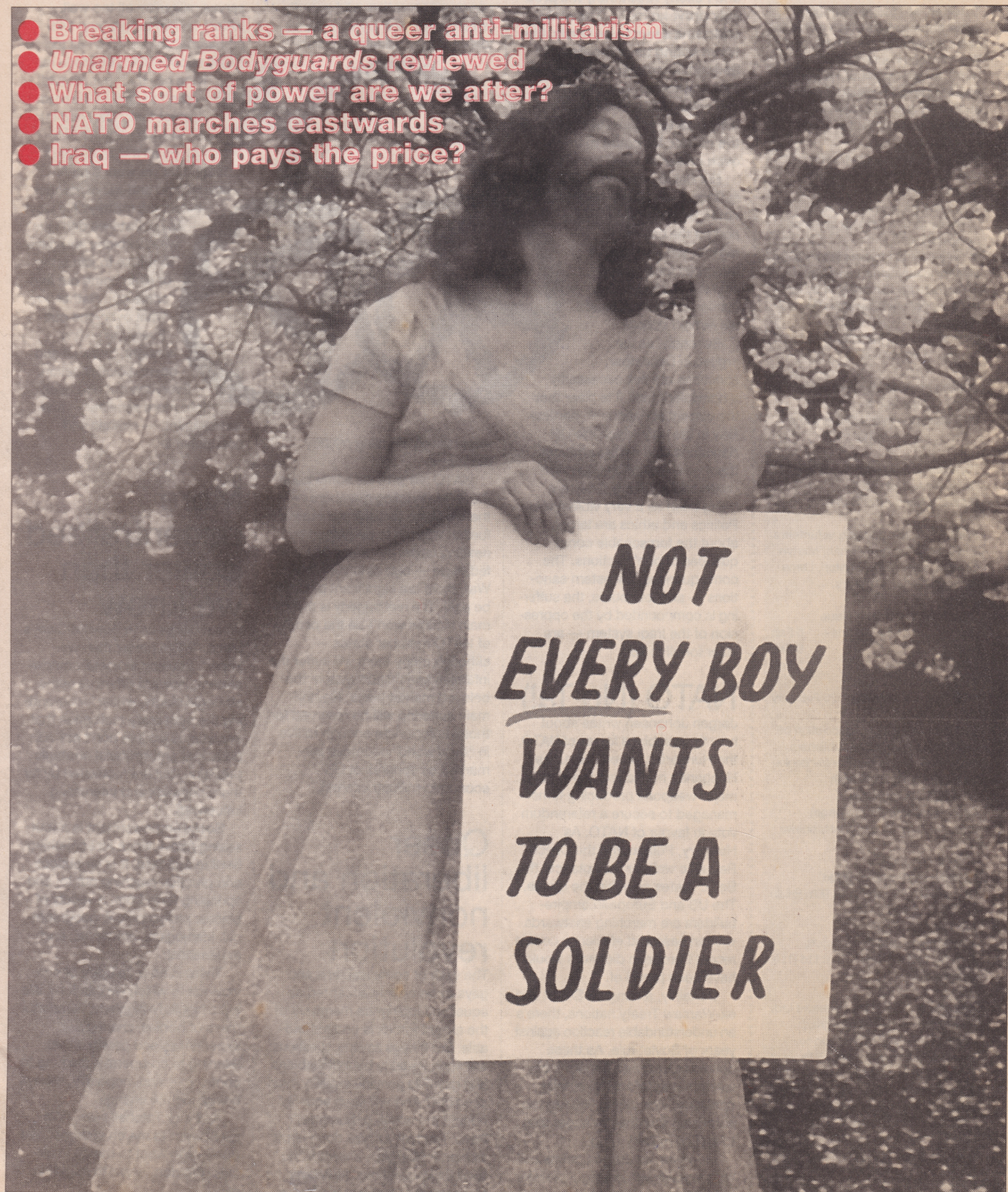


PHOTO: BREAKTHROUGH

Peace News

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- Support and connect nonviolent and anti-militarist movements around the world
- Provide a forum where such movements can develop common perspectives
- Take up and promote issues suitable for international campaigning
- Promote pacifist analysis by testing assumptions against contemporary events
- Promote and give critical support to nonviolent revolution

Editors Stephen Hancock and Chris Booth
WRI staff Dominique Saillard and Anya Neher

Pictures Julia Guest
Reviews Andrew Rigby
Subscriptions Anya Neher

Production and packing volunteers
 Tim Wallis, Pat Arrowsmith, Martyn Lowe, Simon Wormleighton, Lorna Richardson, Ian Carstairs.

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Indexed in the Alternative Press Index.

In this issue

Iraq

Our recent coverage of Iraq and UN sanctions (see December PN) has prompted several complaints. This issue's coverage (articles by David McReynolds and Felicity Arbuthnot) will probably provoke more. The main criticisms seem to be firstly, that we're acting as apologists for Saddam's regime; and secondly, that economic sanctions are still valid, and if Saddam's priority was to ensure the health of the nation, he could manage, even under present conditions.

But being concerned with the suffering of ordinary people is not to be confused with support for the governing regime. We were critical of the brutal Iraqi dictatorship long before it was fashionable to be so, and we remain critical.

Secondly, as we argued in December, sanctions are not necessarily a nonviolent tool. It is clear that the current sanctions — particularly in the way which the UN Sanctions Committee enforces them — are causing enormous death and suffering. They are being used as a very violent tool. Politics and ethics are largely about the foreseeable consequences of one's actions. The consequences of western sanctions — and, of course, the suffering is compounded by the oppression of the Iraqi system — are clear for all to see.

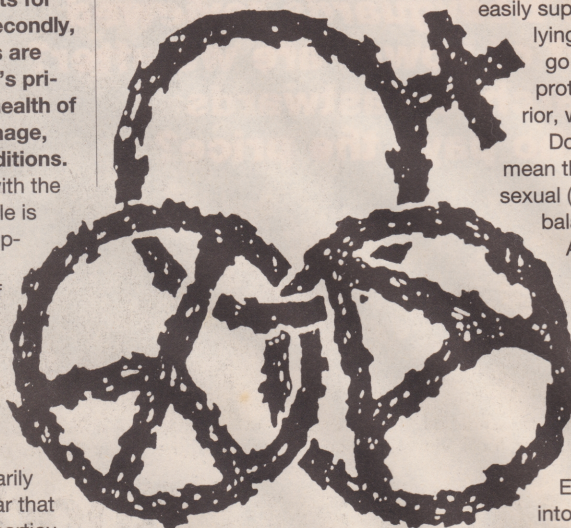
NATO (No Ta!)

Jørgen Johansen writes about how the combined forces of NATO, the Hungarian government, the Hungarian media and the world's major weapons producing firms managed to secure a referendum vote in favour of NATO. As Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic wait for acceptance, the Baltic States now join the queue. The US and European empire-builders are marching eastwards with an ease and efficiency certain recent European dictators would have been proud of.

Certainly, among ex-Soviet and ex-Warsaw Treaty nations, there's an understandable reaction against years of Soviet rule. As these countries rush into the arms of western capitalism (or, strictly speaking, vice versa), it's not too surprising that they're eager also to join its military wing.

However, as Jørgen points out, we are really witnessing a disaster here — the building of a phenom-

enal, US-dominated empire. Here at PN we are fortunate enough to receive *NATO Review*. Flicking through its glossy pages, one could be forgiven for thinking that NATO was some merry Peace Corps. Indeed, such words as *peace*, *cooperation*, and *security* feature again and again — as do lots of happy military faces and



impressively bristling military hardware.

NATO will provide some benefits to its fledgling members — there's some security and nuclear-fuelled warmth to be gained by nestling under the wings of a well-fed eagle — but, as in the last Cold War, there are significant prices to be paid. The real tragedy is that the main victims won't be the people of NATO member states — although many of them will suffer the infamies and misfortunes of the beloved market place. No, the main suffering will be reserved for those unfortunate enough to live in "third world" countries earmarked as spheres of US economic-military interest.

Queer liberation and nonviolent revolution

The wish of some lesbians and gays to be openly accepted as equal and legitimate members of the armed forces is understandable. But it begs several questions: will such equality benefit lesbians and gays? Is genuine equality even possible? And will such equality benefit the whole of humanity? Peter Tatchell, in "We don't want to march straight", answers "no" to all three questions. Moreover, he suggests that lesbians and gays

have their own special arguments and experiences to support an ethical and practical *queer* anti-militarism.

Heterosexism — the assertion that heterosexuality is both the normal and superior condition — serves militarism all too well. Heterosexism is entwined with patriarchal values which all too easily support the militaristic rallying call that men should go off to fight in order to protect their dear, and inferior, women and children.

Does all this queer stuff mean that we want a multi-sexual (and anti-racist, gender-balanced) military? No way! As pacifists we don't just want lesbians and gays to refuse to join up — or even come out and come out. Rather, we want everyone out! Everyone — gay, straight, bisexual and beyond classification. Everyone out and back into more sensible — and extravagant! — clothes and occupations.

More decentralised power than we know

Which brings us to Howard Clark's piece, "More power than we know". Looking at social empowerment, Howard offers us some strategic clarity, whilst incorporating the necessary realisation that sometimes we just don't act with detached anti-militarist strategic precision, but are motivated by far more complex and interesting influences.

Social empowerment is about seeing nonviolence as something flexible and fluid. It is an outlook and practice reaching out to, and springing forth from, a variety of places: philosophical, geographical, ideological, emotional, and experiential.

There is no pure body of non-violence to which we can turn. We are a higgledy-piggledy, wonderful mess of bodies, sharing our experiences and perspectives, learning to co-operate, learning to confront — and, hopefully, always being open to change.

As Peter Tatchell says, "We don't want to march straight." We don't even want to march in circles. We don't want to march at all!



Manibeli Village, Narmada River, India: Victims of flooding caused by the Sardar Sarovar Dam.

Narmada Dam: floodgates of protest burst open

On the weekend of 10–11 January, over 20,000 villagers from the Narmada valley, central India, occupied the partially built site of the Maheshwar dam on the Narmada river. Led by women, villagers evaded police roadblocks by travelling from their villages through the night using local paths. At least 3000 women, men and children stayed behind after the weekend, demanding a complete review of not just the Maheshwar dam but the whole "Narmada Valley Development Project".

Those who remained have set up a village of tents called "Sangharsh Gaon" — the Village of Struggle — and have built a massive kitchen in one of the pits already excavated by bulldozers. Small shop-keepers have moved in and set up tea stalls, and a small food market. "The atmosphere is festive," reports Shripad Dharmadhikary. Local villages are taking it in turns to maintain the camp.

Initially, on 10 January, the government threatened the use of force to clear the occupiers, but, as the scale of the protest became clear, they then declared a "temporary" closure of work.

The Maheshwar hydropower dam is one of 30 major, 135 medium-sized, and 3000 small

dams planned for the whole Narmada Valley. Protests against the project have been going on for more than 10 years. The project has already displaced hundreds of families, threatening to displace many thousand more. The Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save Narmada Movement) has been mobilising in affected villages

"This is a fight against the anti-people new economic policy which is based on privatisation and globalisation, especially in the power sector."

throughout the last year. Nonviolent protest and resistance is on the increase. In October, a rally of 10,000 was held in the same area, calling for work on the dam to stop. Neither the government nor project managers responded, hence this act of civil disobedience.

As the blue flags of the NBA flutter above the Narmada's newest village, the call is going out to villagers and activists from

other similarly affected sites across India to join them. "We are not interested in ad hoc announcements and temporary stoppages — the people are angry and have had enough," said Medha Paktar, an NBA leader.

As *PN* goes to press, five representatives from the village have begun an indefinite fast in order to pressure the local government and construction company — Shree Maheshwar Hydropower Corporation Ltd (SMHPCL) — to accept their call for a comprehensive review.

"The people have indicated that this is also a fight against the anti-people new economic policy which is based on privatisation and globalisation, especially in the power sector," said Shripad Dharmadhikary.

International supporters can send faxes to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, stating their backing for the people's struggle being carried out under the banner of the NBA:

Digvijay Singh, Chief Minister of MP, Bhopal (fax +91 755 540 501). Local NBA contact: Shripad Dharmadhikary (tel +91 7283 64224).

More information: Bretton Woods Project, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT, Britain (tel +44 171 523 2170; email bwref@gn.apc.org).

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Corrections

In the December *PN* we printed the wrong contact info for ZAK (p4). Apologies. The correct info is: Campaign Against Compulsory Military Service in Turkey (ZAK), PO Box 2474, London N8, Britain (tel/fax +44 181 374 5027; email hcalba@essex.ac.uk).

Yes, well, and as more than several people pointed out, the January *PN* was stripped of month, number and price. Hold on to it — it'll become a collectors' item. For those interested in technical explanations, we were cycling to the printers and going at such a speed that it blew off and landed in the canal.

In Brief

Chiapas

On 22 December paramilitaries gunned down 45 refugees in the Polho municipality of Chiapas, in southern Mexico. The killings have prompted renewed national and international action in support of a peaceful settlement to the region's tensions. Despite a supposed ceasefire between the government and EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) — who staged an insurrection on 1 January 1994 — there is much evidence that government forces are involved in the displacements and killings. Indeed the suspects for this most recent killing were captured by police, but later released and given their guns back.

Support for the region has taken the form of demonstrations, pickets at Mexican embassies around the world, the sending of aid to refugees, and even a planned "virtual sit-in" at five of Mexico's financial web sites (the idea being to connect to the electronic sites and to keep on "reloading", so as to log up the system).

The Zapatista uprising was initially ridiculed by the international press as a "toy town" revolution, but has proved surprisingly enduring and successful, and especially appealing to activists abroad — particularly through its blend of politics, humour and revolutionary image. Non-violent activists are finding ways of supporting the people of the region without supporting the armed struggle.

Peace pilgrimage

A "Pilgrimage for Peace in Chiapas" was made by more than 1000 indigenous people to Mexico City — "to pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe for peace in Chiapas and in all of Mexico, for the 45 brothers and sisters massacred in Acteal".

On 18 January more than 2000 indigenous Tzeltals and Tojolbals occupied the military barracks of the 39th Military Zone for 53 minutes in protest at the presence of government soldiers in their communities.

Asylum seekers

Deportation halted by bicycle lock

● Milan Rai

Chris Gwyntopher, a London-based Quaker and refugee support worker, was convicted of criminal damage at Stratford Magistrates' Court on 19 January, seven months after he locked the gates of Plaistow police station in east London in order to prevent the deportation of a Nigerian asylum-seeker. The damage suffered by the gates was not actually inflicted by Gwyntopher's bicycle lock, but by the repeated attempts of an automatic gate-opening system to let out the "Group 4" van carrying the asylum-seeker.

Despite the fact that nothing he did actually damaged the gate, despite his arguments that his action was legally and morally justified, and despite the fact that he had delayed the deportation long enough for the local Member of Parliament to intervene, Chris was found guilty of recklessly causing criminal damage. However, the asylum-seeker is still in the UK at the time of writing, and lives with his British wife and their two children, pending a review of his case.

"It was Sunday morning, and I went down to the police station, somehow hoping that people would pour out of the churches and join me. But when they didn't,

and when the guards and police appeared in the yard with the Nigerian, I used one of my two bike-locks to lock the gate" explained Chris to *PN*. "It was remarkably effective. I then tried to engage in dialogue, but they weren't in the mood, so I sat down in front of the gates and was arrested. The important thing is that things were delayed long enough for a lawyer and the local MP to intervene and prevent the deportation."

Family values

Citing both cross-generational and inter-movement influences

on his choice to "D-lock" the gate, Chris said, "There are advantages to having a son active in the environmental movement."

Chris is to be sentenced on 12 February — at Stratford Magistrates' Court — when he may be ordered to pay £928 in compensation and £150 court costs. He also faces punishment for breaching a conditional discharge imposed for blocking a train carrying nuclear waste travelling through East London.

Supporters are invited to attend the case, but requested not to demonstrate outside the court.

Sans papiers

Hunger-strikers demand residence

The French MRAP (Movement against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples) has launched protests at the French authorities' apparent indifference to the plight of the *sans papiers* — paperless immigrants — on hunger strike in Lille, urging the authorities to "open a process of negotiation".

Eighteen *sans papiers* — from Morocco, Algeria, Senegal, Gambia and Laos — have been on hunger strike since 17

November in support of their demand for legal residence permits.

The hunger strikers have been accepting only tea and sugared water, and are, according to one doctor now approaching "the edge of the irreversible" in terms of health.

Messages of support can be faxed: +33 3 20 86 15 56

Coordination Nationale de Sans-Papiers, 22 rue Pajol, 75018 Paris, France (tel/fax +33 1 46 07 16 19).

Arms to Indonesia



PHOTO: SVEN

Tuesday 20 January: members of the Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) and Stop Alvis Tanks to Indonesia keep vigil outside the Alvis AGM at the Savoy Hotel, London. Meanwhile, inside the hotel,

single-share-holding pacifists questioned the Alvis board about their armoured-vehicle deal with Indonesia.

It transpires, from questions asked in the British parliament, that British weapons deals with

Indonesia have been underwritten by export credit guarantees in excess of £1 billion. Given the current economic and political crisis in Indonesia, there's a strong possibility that Indonesia won't be able to pay for its British tanks and Hawk warplanes. It's good to know that the weapons producers are protected by a well-strung welfare safety net...

Stop Alvis Tanks to Indonesia, Alvis Peace Camp, North View, Walsgrave Triangle, Coventry CV2 2SP, Britain (pager 0336 774 173). CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ, Britain (tel +44 171 281 0297; email caat@gn.apc.org). CAAT is coordinating a "Suharto Reception Committee" to greet President Suharto on Saturday 4 April when he travels to London for the Asia-Europe Summit.

Arrests at ELF Transmitter Site



"We must learn to live together as brothers and sisters or we are going to perish together as fools." Activists at the ELF site display a banner bearing the words of Martin Luther King.

PHOTO: PEACEGRANJAN PROVOST

On 18 January, US anti-Trident activists chose to celebrate Martin Luther King's birthday by forming an "International Citizens' Inspection Team" and attempting to enter the US

Navy Project ELF missile submarine transmitter site near Clam Lake, Wisconsin.

The inspection team was attempting to verify the connection between the transmitter,

known as a "bell ringer" by the Navy, and weapons of mass destruction outlawed by international agreements.

The ELF (Extremely Low Frequency) system sends one-way commands to deeply submerged, nuclear missile-firing British and US Trident submarines around the world.

Twenty one members of the team were ticketed for trespassing and ordered to appear in Ashland County Court on 3 February. The action brings to over 450 the number of arrests at the remote transmitter site.

For more info about ELF: see "The cutting edge of resistance to Trident", interview in October 1997 PN.

Nukewatch, PO Box 649, Luck, WI 54853, USA (tel +1 715 472 4185; email nukewtch@win.bright.net).

School of the Americas

Maximum sentences for SOA protesters

Carol Richardson, one of the 601 activists arrested for entering the School of the Americas (SOA) during a mock funeral procession in November (see January PN), began her six-month prison sentence on 21 January.

On the same day, 22 others received similar half-year terms, and \$3000 fines, when they were convicted by Judge Robert Elliott for "unlawful trespass". Only 28 of the 601 arrested were actually charged — as those 28 had already been barred from the torture-training school following previous actions.

Civil rights pedigree

Like some of those he sentenced, Judge Elliott has a pedigree going back to civil rights movement days. He led the 1948 Democratic Convention "Georgia walkout protest" over the Democratic party's 1948 civil rights platform, imprisoned Martin Luther King, and reversed army lieutenant William Calley's conviction for the murder of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai. The 1983 July/Aug issue of *The American Lawyer* did a

feature article assessing Elliott as the "worst" sitting federal judge in the United States.

The SOA has trained nearly 60,000 Latin American soldiers,

"At the centre of nonviolence stands the principle of love... Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate." Martin Luther King

including 19 of those implicated in the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests and their co-workers in El Salvador.

The 22 newly-sentenced activists will be sent to prison as places become available.

"Hopefully we'll be free in time for November's action," said Father Roy Bourgeois — who has already served 18 months for previous acts of civil disobedience at the School.

Signs don't bleed

Seven more SOA Watch activists go to trial on 8 March for painting the "Welcome to Fort Benning" sign back in September. With bright red paint, they stencilled "SOA = TORTURE" and "SCHOOL OF SHAME" onto the sign. Additionally, they detached Fort Benning's logo — a life-size bayonet — from the newly painted sign, dipped it in the red-paint pot and left it leaning against the sign for all to see.

If convicted, they face up to five years in prison.

Letters of support: Carol Richardson, # 88116-020, FPC Alderson, Box B, Alderson, WV 24910-0991, USA. SOA Watch, 1719 Irving St NW, Washington, DC 20010, USA (+1 202 234 3440; <http://www.derechos.org.soaw/>).

In a Nutshell

Cup runneth over

The "Cup of Peace" volleyball final in Kabul between the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Afghan Red Crescent Society ended with more than friendly handshakes. Supporters of the Red Crescent team invaded the court when the cup was awarded to the Red Cross, and sticks and chairs were exchanged. Fortunately, several hundred first-aiders were at the scene within seconds...

Kein Calvin Klein?

Conscripts in the German army have initiated a mass rebellion against army-issue underwear. In behind-the-scenes of well-coordinated disobedience, young soldiers have been downing their white-cotton long-johns and declining to join battle until issued with items more fitting and fashionable.

Fully aware that an army doesn't just march on its stomach, German officials eventually caved in and awarded each soldier a DM50 per annum allowance to purchase whatever tickles, or tickles not, their fancy. German taxpayers will foot the possible £2.5 million annual bill, but they'll surely sleep more soundly for the expense.

Eat your words

The lively and anarchic Seattle-based weekly, *eat the state!* (which regularly graces the PN toilet), recorded a phenomenal coup of journalistic investigation when one of its readers chanced upon a "Secrets of the CIA" cooking-special on TV. Commented the reader, "I suppose the process of overthrowing governments and shooting people makes one hungry."

The following week the sensational story clarified itself a bit: the CIA referred to on TV was actually the Cooking Institute of America. Vegan humble-pie all round. Even anarchists must remember the golden rule of journalism: always check your sauces.

In Brief

Back at camp...

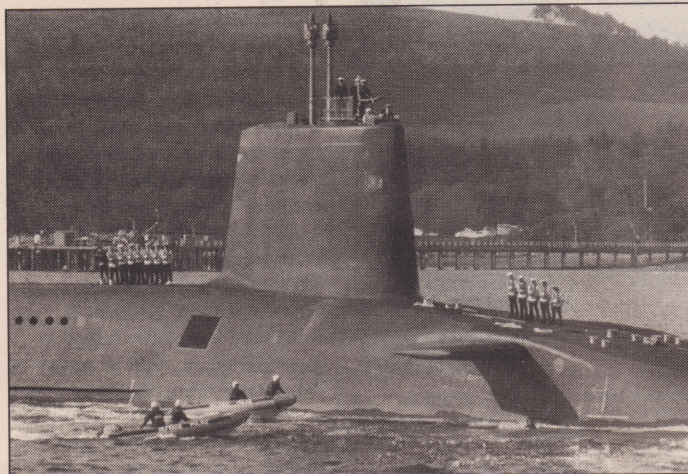
Faslane Peace Camp, currently facing eviction after nearly sixteen years of caravan-conspiring resistance to Polaris and Trident (see December *PN*), looks like it will make it through to the spring, and, it is hoped, beyond. Camp members are currently appealing against a decision to deny them legal aid with which to defend themselves. However the local authority, Argyll and Bute Council, is in severe financial difficulty — closing down rural primary schools — and it is unlikely that it could afford a lengthy and costly eviction. The peace camp is digging in, and would appreciate “money, bodies and scaffolding”. Activists prepared to head to camp at short notice should phone or write to the camp and put themselves on the emergency phone tree. Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh G84 8NT, Scotland (+44 1436 820901; <http://ds.dial.pipex.com/cndscot/camp/>).

Prince of Peace

Two of the “Prince of Peace Plowshares” — Steve Baggardy and Mark Colville — are due to be released from prison on 2 February after serving 13 months. Three of the remaining four — who disarmed a cruise missile launching system aboard the *USS Sullivan* in February 1997 (see March *PN*) — have been transferred to federal prisons: Philip Berrigan #14850-056, FCI Petersburg, PO Box 1000, Petersburg, VA 23804-1000, USA
Susan Crane #87783-011, FCI Dublin, 5701 8th St., Dublin, CA 94568, USA
Tom Lewis-Borbely #03609-036, FPC Schuylkill Camp 1, PO Box 670, Minersville, PA 17954, USA
Jesuit priest Steve Kelly is still awaiting transfer, so should be written to care of his home address: Steve Kelly #97042-351, c/o Jonah House, 1301 Moreland Ave, Baltimore, MD 21216, USA.

Trident Ploughshares 2000

Trident Ploughshares 2000 gathers momentum



A well-guarded HMS Vanguard sails into the Gareloch. The *Tri-denting it Handbook* tells you which bits are safe to hammer. PHOTO: CAROLINE AUSTIN

The Trident Ploughshares 2000 (TP2000) campaign is busily gathering momentum and controversy as it works towards its May launch and August “Disarmament Camp”. Already nearly a hundred activists have committed themselves to forming affinity groups and making at least one attempt to disarm some aspect of Britain’s Trident system.

TP2000 is the ploughshares movement’s most ambitious and open disarmament project yet. Hitherto, ploughshares actions have usually been carried out by solitary affinity groups. The openness of the planning process — the Core Group coordinators have published their names and addresses — is also a new venture. Already twenty affinity groups have formed, with three in Sweden and one in Belgium.

DIY disarmament

A comprehensive *Handbook* has been produced, including background on the ploughshares movement, prison reflections and an illustrated section on what to hit and what not to hit aboard a Trident submarine. As yet, the British authorities have not responded — no doubt the 1996 acquittal of four ploughshares women, for disarming a Hawk warplane bound for Indonesia, has afforded the movement some protection.

TP2000 activists are planning to give the British government six months, before the August camp, in which to announce that they will disarm the Trident fleet by the year 2000. In the event of silence

or a refusal, activists plan to attempt to disarm the fleet themselves — first during a two-week camp at the Faslane submarine base in Scotland, and then at any time and at any point of the Trident cycle up to 1 January 2000.

Angie Zelter, core group member, and one of the four acquitted ploughshares women, says, “There are lots of levels to the project — from signing the Pledge of Support, to preparing to disarm. And the definition of disarmament is up to each affinity group — it could range from

attempts to sit on top of the missile tubes, to some serious restructuring of the submarine.”

Controversy

But even without any reaction from the police or government, the project is already causing controversy. Britain’s Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) is currently researching the legal implications of officially supporting the venture, although Scottish CND is organising a solidarity demonstration at Faslane on 15 August. And British Quakers are also currently discussing whether they can officially involve themselves — the Turning The Tide nonviolence training project, run by Quaker Peace & Service, is currently suspended from involvement in TP2000 pending a decision by Meeting for Sufferings (the executive committee of the Society of Friends) in early February.

Trident Ploughshares 2000, 42–46 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk, NR2 1NR, Britain (tel +44 1603 611953; fax 666879; email reforest@gn.apc.org).
Scottish CND, 15 Barrland St, Glasgow G41 1QH, Scotland (tel +44 141 423 1222; email cndscot@dial.pipex.com).

Turkish Human Rights Awards

Ossi and villagers of Bergama receive prizes



Villagers from Bergama, on the west coast of Turkey, aboard a Greenpeace boat protesting against the gold-mining company Euro Gold. Their seventy-year long nonviolent campaign was recognised by the Turkish Human Rights Association (IHD) with its annual award for “freedom of association”. The “freedom of thought” award went to Osman Murat Ülke (Ossi) for his contribution to the CO movement in Turkey. The prizes were awarded on 10 December, International Human Rights Day, but Ossi was unable to collect his in person, as he was in custody.

PHOTO: UMIT OZTURK

Hungary does it the democratic way?

• Jørgen Johansen

The three countries invited to join NATO — Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic — all chose different decision-making mechanisms. Hungary was the only country to go for a referendum — at first glance, a just and democratic process. But the campaign to convince the population was one of the worst ever seen in Europe. From start to finish the government and the military powers used a whole host of old-fashioned Stalinist methods and dirty tricks to win the referendum.

Not mentioned in the elections

First of all the government refused to give any financial support to the opposition. Only those groups who were in favour of joining NATO got any money. The government argued that it would be against the interest of the country to support groups who opposed membership. But NATO membership was not publicly debated during the last election — so the present parliament and government does not necessarily represent public opinion either.

The cost

The propaganda machine from the different ministries argued that NATO was the gate to European Union, and that the EU would be like heaven. More likely is that membership of NATO will cost such enormous amounts of money that a poor economy will prevent Hungary from joining the EU. Calculations on the cost of joining NATO vary from 5 to 125 billion US dollars. The lowest figures were published just one week before the actual referendum day.

The US weapons industry — in competition with European firms to sell weapons to Hungary — made a computer war game on CD. The Ministry of Education distributed the CD free of charge to all schools with a letter of recommendation from the minister himself to use it for educational purposes. In the game, the only way to win is to join NATO!

In the spring of last year, the Ministry of Defence bought the manuscript rights to Hungary's

three most popular soap operas. After more than 2000 episodes the main figures suddenly become interested in politics — and all the "good" characters were in favour of NATO membership.

Hungary wasn't just targeted by US weapons firms — European ones too descended on Hungary with posters, ads in magazines, exhibitions, and to



hold seminars and meetings. The Swedish manufacturers of the JAS warplane spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on advertisements. Most of them looked like ads for a family insurance company — buy our war machine and be happy!

The result

In spite of an enormous work by Alba Kör and some other groups, the government won with 89% for membership and 11% against. That was not bad at all considering the forces in favour of membership and the undemocratic, unfair and Stalinist way the referendum was carried out. The only way

now to stop NATO's enlargement is to convince any of the sixteen present NATO members not to ratify the agreement. Outside the republicans in the US Congress few take this question seriously.

Can the peace movement act?

All sixteen members will have to ratify the agreement. Even if the NATO enlargement question does not currently dominate the media, this is one of the most important acts for the future of Europe. The challenge for the peace movement could not be bigger. Will we be able raise consciousness around the question and put it on each country's political agenda?

In a historic light the decision to extend NATO will make the peace of Versailles look like an act of genius. When, after tough negotiations, Gorbachev agreed to let the eastern part of Germany become NATO territory, he was guaranteed that there would be no further eastward moves. Today three more countries are on their way and a handful more are in the queue. This will change the whole security policy of Europe and nobody can predict the outcome. The chance for a positive development is like the chance that an explosion in a printing machine will produce a new book on pacifism. The only thing we know for sure is that many people in Russia are upset about the development. Will Russia seek new friends to the east or will they wait and seek revenge when the opportunity arises?

It is difficult to see any military arguments for the extension and it looks like it is the first step towards a second Cold War. The only ones who will gain for sure are those who sell weapons. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Warsaw Treaty, many in Hungary wanted to be the bridge between east and west. Now it looks like they will be a wedge into the former enemy's sphere of interest.

Jørgen Johansen is Chair of War Resisters' International. Alba Kör, Pf 225, 1461 Budapest, Hungary (+36 1 332 6109; email alba@alba.zpoc.hu).

In Brief

Peace Plus

Austrian Chancellor Viktor Klima has been hinting at greater cooperation with NATO, and has not ruled out joining the military alliance. The issue of NATO membership has divided Klima's grand coalition of Social Democrats and the conservative People's Party. The President said he could at least envisage Austrian soldiers participating in armed operations under a so-called "Partnership for Peace Plus".

Profound Interest

On 15 January President Clinton and his three counterparts from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, signed a "Charter of Partnership", paving the way for NATO membership. The document admits that the US has a "real, profound and enduring interest" in the security, independence and territorial integrity of the three countries. Of course, there's no absolute guarantee that the Baltic states will be accepted, as NATO leaders work by consensus (and we all know how difficult that can be).

Shot and charged

Three Finnish animal rights activists were recently shot by a fur farmer as they were breaking in to a fox-fur farm to spray the foxes with a harmless dye. They were charged by police with "aggravated breach of the peace". EVR TR, PL403, 00121 Helsinki, Finland.

Joint Enterprise

A national "Turn Yourself In" day by some of Britain's estimated five million cannabis users resulted in one arrest for "possession". Although the man arrested didn't actually have any cannabis on him at the time, he admitted to being a regular toker so police arrested him for "possessing an unspecified amount at an unspecified place in Leeds on an unspecified date in 1997"! Watch out, Bill Clinton: Cannabis Legalisation Action Group, PO Box HP94, Leeds LS6 1YJ, Britain (email clagleeds@hotmail.com).

On 28 February 1991 the Gulf War supposedly came to an end. Seven years on, *David McReynolds* and *Felicity Arbuthnot* reflect on the continuing suffering of the Iraqi people.

The crisis in Iraq

● David McReynolds

I was only in Iraq once, in 1991, as a member of a team sent by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to see if "human contact" could be established with the regime. As we were driven around Baghdad and the surrounding countryside, it was obvious that Iraq was not a "third world country" but a highly industrialised one, with a large working class, an impressive number of educated people, and decent housing.

On the negative side, there were massive portraits of Saddam almost everywhere. Saddam the soldier, Saddam the father, Saddam the farmer, Saddam the worshipper, always Saddam. We stayed in "the hotel" which CNN broadcast from during the war and for the only time in my life I was really nervous about the large number of men in plainclothes. Not in Moscow, not in Hanoi, not even in East Berlin (which was oppressive at the height of the Cold War) did I feel such a need to look before I spoke.

So I do not write as a "friend of Saddam". What I do write as is someone who does not believe any great power — in this case the United States — can be trusted to act impartially. If the "rule of law" depends on the strength of a single nation, one can be quite sure that that nation and its close allies will be exempt from the rules.

The object of the "Gulf War" was to punish aggression, which was done and with a vengeance. Kuwait was "liberated" — though it is no more democratic now than it was when Saddam invaded it. The US attack was not designed simply to get Iraq out of Kuwait — it was designed, from the first wave of bombers, to go as far as possible to cripple Iraq.

UN fig leaf

All of that was done. It was done under the barest of UN fig leaves. I have never been impressed with the UN when it was wearing a fig leaf, whether in the Korean War in 1950, or in Iraq today. The actions were US actions, supported by the British and the French.

Saddam has concluded — and I say this based on *New York Times* reports — that it doesn't matter what he does, the sanctions will not be eased. I do not personally care deeply what happens to Saddam, but I do care what is happening to the children and to the civilian population held hostage by both the US and Saddam. In this endless game of sanctions Saddam and Clinton are not starving, but the children are. More



UNICEF-agreed estimates of number of embargo-related child deaths (August 1997): 1,211,285.
UNICEF estimates of adult deaths (November 1997): 960,000.

GRAPHIC: EMILY JOHNS

will die if the US engages in an air strike, which it seems determined to provoke.

The hard reality is that there is no more reason for monitoring Iraq's poison gas supplies than those of Syria, Iran, Israel. Iraq shouldn't be working on trying to develop a nuclear bomb. But Israel already has a number of them. The US, France, Britain, etc, all have large supplies. Do I trust Iraq with the bomb? No, of course not, but I don't trust the US with it either.

We have been told that the UN's role in Iraq is laying the basis for international law. I don't think so. Selective enforcement is not true law.

We (by this I mean the US State Department and Pentagon) will never forgive Saddam for surviving. We thought he was finished. The US did its best to

encourage rebellion — thousands of Iraqis paid with their lives for "rising up" and then being deserted by the US. Saddam is supposed to be dead, driven from power — but there he is, big as life, his children dying around him, and Washington determined to push whatever lever is necessary to get him out of power.

Private vendetta

I submit that it is not the business of the US government to use our tax dollars to wage the private vendettas of a handful of foreign policy "experts" whose noses are out of collective joint. In the long run, from a practical point of view, it is not helping the stability of the Middle East to weaken Iraq while Iran builds up. Further, international law is not enhanced

by one-sided and highly selective enforcement.

Given time and patience Iraq contains all the internal contradictions — a strong working class, an educated class, a large population of small shop keepers, a large student population — to make the next step forward toward a more stable future, one that will not include Saddam (who, in any case, can't live forever). But continued US pressure on Iraq can speed the emergence there of a fundamentalist Islamic movement which — if the US could think twenty years ahead — is not in anyone's interests. Saddam, for all his faults, is an agent of secular change.

For all these reasons I hope we can exert pressure in the period immediately ahead to end the sanctions. The further we go along the "bully path" of playing chicken

"You simply cannot on the one hand insist that Saddam is a bloody tyrant who allows no domestic freedom, and then engage in sanctions and military actions whose primary victims are precisely those men and women, young and old, who are unable to change the situation."

the more we will find the US stuck with military solutions which will isolate it from the Arab world. But to me, the greatest tragedy is that more kids, more civilians, more totally helpless folks, will die in Iraq.

Yes, Saddam has to bear some blame for that. But those deaths are also already on the hands of George Bush and now of Bill Clinton.

Brave men don't play macho games with sick children. You simply cannot on the one hand insist that Saddam is a bloody tyrant who allows no domestic freedom, and then engage in sanctions and military actions whose primary victims are precisely those men and women, young and old, who are unable to change the situation.

David McReynolds is on the staff of the US War Resisters League, and a member of the Socialist Party, but the above is an edited version of a personal statement, not an organisational one. For the full version: David McReynolds, WRL, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012, USA (email wrl@igc.apc.org).

"Not available"... due to sanctions

● Felicity Arbuthnot

When Maahti Atisaari, then Special Rapporteur to the United Nations, visited Iraq in March 1991, he wrote that "nothing we had heard or read could have prepared us for this particular devastation — a country reduced to a pre-industrial age for a considerable time to come." An estimated quarter of a million had perished. Yet the war has continued in the form of a UN embargo unique in its ferocity.

To reflect on nearly a dozen visits since early 1992, is to raid memories which haunt. Looking through hundreds of photographs is to revisit children now dead — often for want of simple medication — wistful, tentative, shy, smiling — unbearable.

Ali was three when he lost his father in the Gulf War. Every day for three years he ran repeatedly to the grave, digging with his small hands, saying "It's alright daddy, you can come out now, the men who put you there have gone away..." Ali was just one manifestation of what psychologists still describe as one of the most traumatised child populations on earth. With toys, books, pencils, and exercise books vetoed by the UN Sanctions Committee, even minimal escape into temporary normality is impossible.

Sugar babies

By 1993, doctors had a new diagnosis. Women, too malnourished to breast feed and unable to afford milk powder, were feeding their babies on sugared water and tea. The babies became chronically malnourished and terribly bloated. Doctors named them "the sugar babies".

In 1996 aid agencies reported malnutrition such that one third of children now suffered stunted growth or impaired intelligence due to lack of protein.

Childhood cancers are estimated to have increased fivefold since the Gulf War — an

increase some experts have linked with the depleted uranium weapons used by the US and Britain, which left a residue of radioactive dust throughout the region.

Not available

Oncologist Dr Selma Haddad, of the Al-Mansour Hospital in Baghdad, was reassuring small patients; reassuring frantic parents. For each case, she made out a meticulous treatment card — on card or between the lines of old notes (paper is largely unavailable, and a large consignment of pulp was recently vetoed by the Sanctions Committee). Each child was prescribed ten to twelve different medica-

Leslie Stahl: "We have heard that a half a million children have died. I mean, that's more children than died in Hiroshima. And, you know, is the price worth it?"

Madeleine Albright (US Ambassador to the UN): "I think this is a very hard choice, but the price — we think the price is worth it."

Broadcast on 60 Minutes, a US current affairs TV programme, 12 May 1996.

tions for the early stages of treatment. Under almost all she wrote "n/a, n/a..." — not available. For the medicines available, she prescribed only half dosage — otherwise the next child would have to go without. Each parent begged for full medication for their precious child. To each she said gently, "Please, these are difficult times, don't be selfish, look behind you..." Cancer treatments are vetoed by the Sanctions Committee, since they contain minute traces of radioactivity.

This December in the UNICEF building in Baghdad a woman, incoherent with grief, burst through the doors. The story she sobbed out was a living nightmare: She had five children. The previous Monday the smallest had become ill, dehydrated with intractable diarrhoea. (Water-borne diseases are endemic. Pipes fractured during the war cannot be repaired for want of parts vetoed by the Sanctions Committee.) Having no transport, she ran to the hospital, with the child in her arms. They had re-hydration fluid, but no antibiotics, or the necessary gastro-nasal high protein feed. The child died. Returning home with him in her arms (only two ambulances in Baghdad, for five million people — consignment of new ones from France blocked by the Sanctions Committee) to arrange burial, she found a second child ill. She ran back to the hospital with him. He too died. Returning again, the third sick, same scenario, he too died. She had come to UNICEF to beg for medication for the remaining two, now also sick.

Common humanity?

Children shiver in thunderstorms, thinking it is the bombers returning; many no longer play games — they remind them of their dead friends. They will be shivering again if Britain and the US take threatened further action — such action will effectively consign the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to the trash bin, and with it our common humanity and right to call ourselves civilised.

Felicity Arbuthnot is a freelance journalist who has visited Iraq many times in recent years. She is currently working on a television documentary on the health effects of radiation. Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq, c/o Sebastian Wills, Clare College, Cambridge CB2 1TL, UK (tel +44 1223 509974; email saw27@cam.ac.uk). See Letters, page 16, for more discussion of the sanctions question.

The word "power" means so many different things. Sometimes we're struggling against it, other times we're trying to grasp it. What kinds of *nonviolent* power are we after? *Howard Clark* explores the possibilities.

More power than we know

● Howard Clark

Nonviolent activists are people who put a disproportionate amount of ourselves — our lives, our energy, our emotion — into trying to make a difference to a situation. Osman Murat Ülke, the Turkish war resister being imprisoned repeatedly, could probably avoid conscription quietly, and could certainly avoid having to kill anybody. But instead he is using all the power within him, and within his social base, to make a difference.

We don't choose a "personal solution", but seek a social or even universal solution. And so, for instance, we get arrested and sometimes put ourselves at physical risk to obstruct some death-dealing programme — for just a few hours or even minutes — and we do the countless other things we do which, when weighed in some grand balance, are socially marginal, but which on occasions we will treat as matters of life and death.

Nonviolent action — be it civil disobedience or constructive work — normally aims to be infectious. Ultimately we hope to be catalysts of a more general empowerment, encouraging others not to behave as victims but to assert themselves as active citizens, initiating a process of restructuring social power from the bottom.

Nonviolent power is not about domination: it is the power to be and the power to do. It combines a personal sense of power — *power within* — with a will to collective action — *power with* — and a desire to achieve certain ends — *power in relation to*.

Power within

It begins with yourself. Most people are resigned to events happening "out there", and most also adapt to their own oppression. Whatever leads nonviolent activists to rebel, to find their power within, and then to keep going, can strike a chord with

other people, and is worth discussing. Our motives may combine heart and head, love and anger, frustration and hope. Sometimes some people may find a good balance, but nonviolent activists are not angels — we're rebellious humans, and can make life quite hard even for each other. Any group would profit from brainstorming around two questions:

- What moves us to go to such trouble?
- What keeps us going?

The personal stand — whether it's a matter of the everyday choices we make about mundane matters such as food, clothing or transport, or an occasion where you're risking prison or worse — is at the centre of nonviolence. And occasions arise when we feel impelled to take a particular action regardless of any calculation of effectiveness.

However, in working for change, our *power within* needs to be accompanied by *power with*, joining with other people.

"Nonviolent power is not about domination: it is the power to be and the power to do."

Indeed it can be hard to express our *power within* unless we have a sense of connection with others.

Power with

The structures of a movement — and in the West I would particularly point to the practice of organising in small groups — can play a vital part in helping each of us find our voice, maintain our personal equilibrium, and sustain ourselves in struggle. This means paying attention to relationships and structures in a movement.

Working together we have many ways of overcoming fear, inhibitions and other blocks to finding our *power within*, but also of balancing the urge to push ourselves to the limit by caring for each other and indeed by caring for ourselves. In hard



times — when there seems little cause for hope and we feel isolated — we need each other to keep ourselves going. In general, movements tend to have a cyclical character: activists get tired or stale, or have to meet other demands in their lives. This might be inevitable, but movements can accelerate their own decline and waste their own potential by neglecting their structures, by failing to encourage participation at various levels and by failing to help people adapt at times of change. For many of us, it is also important to demonstrate alternatives to the top-down models of organising characteristic of conventional power structures.

Identity bonds a movement, whether it's around values or around oppression. Sometimes this takes external forms. For Indians, the wearing of handspun clothes — *khadi*, what Nehru called "the livery of freedom" — was a symbol of unity in struggle and of a self-discipline embraced willingly. Sometimes it takes the form of self-affirmation. Slogans such as "black is beautiful" and "glad to be gay" have had the power to transform self-oppression. When a group of people — be it a gender or a nation — has been marginalised and its achievements rendered invisible, its sense of identity and of its own history and culture are vital in restoring self-worth.

Identity can, of course, be double-edged. However, for movements based on a philosophy of nonviolence, identity is not



Reclaiming the streets, reclaiming power: activists and anarcho-picnickers occupy the M41 motorway, London, July 1996.

PHOTO: ALEC SMART

based on exclusion, but on matching self-esteem with respect for others; or, in Gandhi's terms, working for Independence while cherishing Interdependence. One source of a movement's identity can be the ways it tries to do things, its methods of action and modes of organising, their concern to be inclusive and participatory.

Power in relation to

In thinking about *power with* one must consider how we make alliances and who with. For some, it is enough to combine *power within* and *power with*, concentrating on building our own strength. But most movements tend to engage in conflict: our very goals normally conflict with ruling power structures and often with conventional attitudes.

So *power with* has to deal with strategic questions: from what social base are we taking action? whose support can we enlist for particular goals? which sites of power in society are most susceptible to pressure for change?

Hence to *power in relation to* — in relation to our goals and to the dominant power relationships. What leverage does a nonviolent movement have against the policies of entrenched corporate and institutional power? The classic nonviolent answer is ultimately "the power of a population to withhold its cooperation" — and movements should never forget that regimes rule because people obey. In the

days when it was more common to talk about "an alternative society", we would also talk about making the state redundant — and that is still not a bad perspective for constructive action.

However, whatever validity these classic answers retain, they are too sweeping to meet the needs of most movements. Major

"What leverage does a nonviolent movement have against the policies of entrenched corporate and institutional power?"

social change is rarely achieved so simply. Instead there have to be combinations of methods: of dialogue with defiance; of persuasion with pressure; of the self-organised construction of alternatives with nonviolent resistance — and rhythms of activity; of quiet periods with dramatic highpoints; of risk-taking with caution.

A strategic grounding

Here it becomes vital for a movement to have a sense of its own effectiveness, and that sense is best grounded in a shared strategy, with well-defined themes and clear objectives.

Without this strategic grounding, it is easy to have delusions of effectiveness:

- to repeat actions or events because they

"feel good", and then to discover that they've stopped feeling good, that you've created a charmed circle of people enjoying themselves but failing to reach out — to stretch themselves — or to make a difference to the situation;

- to rely on false criteria for evaluation, for instance quantifiable criteria — the number of participants, the amount of press coverage, the cost inflicted on one's opponent, the length of delay caused to a project, the funds raised;
- to get hung up on technique.

There is also the opposite danger, of failing to recognise successes. If a movement's ultimate goal has yet to be gained, this does not mean that nothing has been achieved. Strategy needs to mark off subsidiary goals, steps in a process of change.

Movements also should be aware of the gap in time that usually separates an action from evidence of its impact. This applies at both a micro- and a macro-level. Movements may have declined by the time they are closest to reaching their goals. Solidarnosc in Poland was a clear case: it had helped set in motion a process of erosion of state power which led to the regime stepping down later, but by that time the movement had lost its dynamism.

We have, as Barbara Deming observed, "more power than we know". A central role for organisations such as War Resisters' International and a paper such as *Peace News* is to reveal to ourselves and each other the sources and extent of such nonviolent power — from personal through group to the social level. And there can be few criteria more important for evaluating a nonviolent movement than our effectiveness in unleashing the nonviolent potential in our societies.

Howard Clark and Vesna Terselić (coordinator of the Anti-War Campaign of Croatia) are convening a four-morning Theme Group on "Nonviolence and Social Empowerment", to take place at the WRI Triennial ("Choosing Peace Together") in Poreč, Croatia, September 19–24.

As mainstream western lesbian and gay organisations demand the right to join the armed forces, anti-militarist and queer activist *Peter Tatchell*, of Outrage!, argues that lesbians and gays should refuse to co-operate with oppressive institutions.

We don't want to march straight

◆ Peter Tatchell

"Homosexuals should not fight in a war propagated by a society that fucks us over in all its institutions. We will not fight in an army that discriminates against us."

These words, written in the *San Francisco Free Press* in the shadow of the Stonewall Riots of 1969, called on lesbians and gay men to refuse military service in the defence of straight society. They were echoed by the emergent lesbian and gay liberation movement which urged total rejection of the "insane war in Vietnam" and an end to "complicity in the war".

The Gay Liberation Front (GLF), which emerged in the wake of the Riots, rejected integrationist strategies that involved queers adapting to hetero society. Revolutionary not reformist, it singled out heterosexual masculinity, with its inclination to aggression and violence, as the number one enemy of queers and women.

Anti-militarist alignment

In the early 70s, GLF chapters on both sides of the Atlantic aligned themselves with struggles for national liberation and peace. The dominant theme of the 1971 San Francisco GLF March Against War and Sexism was "Vietnam for the Vietnamese! San Francisco for the gays!" In London the following year, GLF marchers on the 100,000-strong Troops Out demonstration demanded: "Police out of gay bars! Troops out of Ireland!"

More than a quarter of a century later attitudes towards the armed forces are very different. The US lesbian and gay movement has its own patriotic, flag-waving organisation, the Campaign For Military Service, which goes beyond mere opposition to homophobia in the armed forces. It is actually in favour of service in the military — positively endorsing that institution's values and objectives.

This shift to an implicitly pro-military stance is not confined to the US. In Britain, at the behest of the lesbian and gay lobbying organisation, the Stonewall

"The armed forces are the symbol par excellence of a straight male culture which exalts toughness, rivalry and aggression. They manipulate, intensify and promote the worst aspects of heterosexual masculinity to create an institution dedicated to cold-blooded and systematic killing."

Group, the 1993 Lesbian & Gay Pride march in London featured uniformed and bemedalled veterans, including Americans who had served in the US army during the Vietnam era and English who had waged war in Ireland.

What a turn around. A movement which began in 1969 with the aim of changing society now seeks conformity with the straight status quo.



The campaign for the right of gays to serve in the military is deeply problematic. It abandons any critical assessment of the institutions of heterosexual society in favour of a wholly uncritical, even slavish, worship of all things straight. This mimicry is the height of self-disrespect. None of the major lesbian and gay rights groups questions whether or not the military is a worthy and honourable institution, or whether or not queers should take part in a homophobic organisation that has so frequently been involved in gross violations of human rights. Even the modest aim of reforming the military — to make it more democratic and to try to prevent its use as an institution of oppression — does not figure on their agenda.

The armed forces are the symbol par excellence of a straight male culture which exalts toughness, rivalry and aggression. They manipulate, intensify and promote the worst aspects of heterosexual masculinity to create an institution dedicated to cold-blooded and systematic killing.

Instilled hatred of violence

As lesbians and gays, our experience of prejudice and queer-bashing ought to instil in us a hatred of violence and a compassion for the suffering of others, making us disinclined to militarism and



Dressed to kill. December 1941: Gunners of a British coastal battery were rehearsing a charity Christmas show when the alarm went off. They had to run to "man" the guns in full dress. Wartime authorities had the picture censored.

PHOTO: © TOPHAM

war. A higher set of ethical values, including a commitment to resolve problems by nonviolent means should, given our own victimisation, be axiomatic for lesbians and gay men.

This is not to say that homosexuals are incapable of domination and conquest and cannot excel on the battlefield. After all some of the greatest commanders in history have been lovers of men, including Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Richard the Lionheart, and modern-day militarists such as Field Marshals Kitchener, Haig and Montgomery.

Queer militarists are, however, exceptions. It is not just the violent nature of the armed forces which contradicts the culture and interests of the lesbian and gay community. At a deep unconscious level, there is a fundamental difference between the psyches of heterosexual males and queer men. Machismo and belligerence tend to be much more common among young straight males, compared to their gay counterparts.

Moreover, because straight men tend to see other men as sexual rivals, they have fewer qualms about hurting them, and this makes them more amenable to waging war. Although there is an element of sexual rivalry in queer culture, this competitiveness is moderated by the fact that every male rival is also a potential

lover. Queers would rather fuck a man than fight him.

Threat of lesbianism

Lesbianism is threatening to militarism in a different way. Military culture embodies the macho straight male values of conquest and domination: just as het-

"This is not to say that aggression is an inevitable, biologically-determined feature of male heterosexuality. On the contrary, it is a consequence of conditioning: the ways in which boys are reared to be rough and tough, and to despise the 'sissiness' of being gentle and tender."

erosexual men subordinate women, the military subjugates "the enemy". This relatedness between the military and misogyny is evident in the way rape is frequently perpetrated by conquering armies. Refusing to be dominated by men, women who love women make heterosexual men feel inadequate and vulnerable by refusing to submit to the power of the

prick. Indeed, at an erotic and emotional level, they dispense with men altogether. For many straight males, this is their greatest fear. To lose their control over women undermines their male identity and masculinity, shattering egos and self-confidence. Such men are no good in battle, which is one reason why lesbians have been so zealously witch-hunted out of the armed forces.

This is not to say that aggression is an inevitable, biologically-determined feature of male heterosexuality. On the contrary, it is a consequence of conditioning: the ways in which young boys are reared to be rough and tough, and to despise the "sissiness" of being gentle and tender (which becomes connected in the popular mind with male homosexuality).

The army takes over where boyhood and adolescence leaves off. The military's unwritten training philosophy is: to make a soldier, you have to make a man; before you can make a man, you have to break the individual. As the armed forces see it, becoming a man requires being subjected to a regime of extreme harshness, bordering on barbarism. Abusive drill sergeants, punishing training schedules, and sadistic initiation rituals are all intended to produce the same result — a fierce, tough, cruel masculinity suitable for the waging of war.

Homophobia and homoeroticism

Homophobic bullying is a significant aspect of the violent brutality that exists within the armed forces. One reason for such behaviour is that homophobia is deemed necessary in order to contain and

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Unarmed Bodyguards

Liam Mahony and Luis Enrique Eguren, **Unarmed Bodyguards: International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights** (Kumarian Press, 14 Oakwood Av, West Hartford, CT 06119, USA, 1997, 304pp, £16.95; available from PBI Britain, 1a Waterlow Rd, London N19 5NJ, Britain, for £16.00 including postage). Reviewed by TIM WALLIS.

In 1983 Peace Brigades International sent its first team of international volunteers to Guatemala, in the hope that their presence would deter some of the widespread violence there and encourage the emergence of a more nonviolent and democratic society. The experience of those first PBI volunteers confirmed that this was indeed an effective method for deterring violence and saving lives in a country which had, at that time, one of the highest rates of political murders and "disappearances" in the world.

Since then, PBI has placed many hundreds of volunteers in similar intensely violent situations of in El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Haiti and Colombia. And there are now at least a dozen other organisations providing international accompaniment on a similar basis. Much of this work has been reported in the pages of *Peace News* and there are now at least three books describing the history of this phenomenon. But there has been relatively little in-depth analysis of what effects these projects have had on the political situations in those countries, and even less analysis of exactly how and why they can have those effects.

In *Unarmed Bodyguards*, former PBI volunteers Liam Mahony and Luis "Quique" Eguren set out, not just to record a history of PBI (which they do very admirably), but to examine the effects PBI has had and the possible reasons for having had those effects. To this end, the authors returned to Guatemala and El Salvador — ten years after they had been PBI volunteers in those countries — to interview the very generals and politicians from whom they had been providing protection.

"There were literally volcanoes of letters of protest... but you have to figure out how to measure the difference between an unimportant chain letter and a real clamour that's going to affect the international conscience... If Amnesty International puts out a report, well, that's just Amnesty. But if the Organisation of American States, informed by Amnesty International, puts out a



Progressive Sri Lankan lawyer, Batty Weerakoon, is accompanied by PBI volunteers Yeshua Moser (foreground) and Staffan Hansing, July 1990. PHOTO: PBI ARCHIVE

report against us, then we're fucked!" So says General Gramajo, former Minister of Defence and the man personally responsible for directing a policy of state terror in Guatemala during the 1980s.

Most attempts to explain the effects of PBI and other peace team projects have been couched in the vocabulary of conflict resolution, peace-keeping or nonviolence theory. Liam and Quique offer in this book a refreshingly different, and extremely important, perspective — drawn not from traditional academic sources but from personal experience and their own original research. That perspective, which many in the peace movement seem to find hard to grasp, is based on the concept of "political space" and ways in which international volunteers — backed by international pressure — can increase the political space available to non-violent movements and decrease that available to governments for repression. This model undoubtedly has widespread application in terms of understanding how effective pressure can be brought to bear on repressive regimes around the world. But it has very little to do with peace-keeping or other peace-making approaches, which generally presuppose the existence of two more or less equal parties and a neutral third party coming in between them. Such approaches tend to focus on the activities of the most extreme (ie violent) protagonists in the situation, ignoring the great bulk of the (normally pretty nonviolent) population caught in the middle, upon whom the "resolution" of the conflict ultimately rests.

This book demonstrates very effectively that there is always a price to be paid for violence, terror and repression, no matter who perpetrates it. International campaigns directed against the perpetrators can increase that price to the point where they are

no longer willing to pay it. Such campaigns are even more likely to succeed if reinforced by an international presence on the ground — in the form of international peace teams — which symbolically represent that "international conscience" before which even a man such as Gramajo seems to cower.

Barbara Ehrenreich, **Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War** (Virago, ISBN 1 85381 806 2, 292 pp, £18.99 hardback). Reviewed by MILAN RAI.

Blood Rites may be the most intriguing books I've ever read. Anyone who is interested in war, in peace, in human nature, in the origins of patriarchy, or even in religion (in the largest sense), will be gripped by this book. Summarising innovative research by a host of scholars, Barbara Ehrenreich presents a stunning new picture of our early life on this planet, and its lingering effects on our attitudes towards war.

Ehrenreich, well known in the US as a (satirical) feminist social critic, began her investigations into war with the commonplace assumption that war was the result of "male aggression". The new research that she encountered in the 1980s, however, overturned her preconceptions. War, she discovered, had quite other roots, which had to be traced back to pre-history.

To understand the origins of the passions of war, we must revolutionise our picture of early humankind, and mentally re-create "a world in which humans were everywhere decisively outnumbered by large land animals and lived in intimate connections with them". A world in which humans were, for many hundreds of thousands of

years, prey rather than predators.

Ehrenreich remarks that "it offends human vanity to think of ourselves or our predecessors as vulnerable prey, potential meat for other species", but it is only when we realise that our predecessors had to band together to protect themselves from sabre-tooth cats, lions, leopards, and the like, that we begin to understand the roots of human cooperativeness, and the primeval power of "war fever". Our evolution from cowering scavengers to powerful predators was halting and agonisingly slow, in "a nightmarish struggle against creatures far stronger, swifter and better armed than ourselves, when the terror of being ripped apart and devoured was never farther away than the darkness beyond the campfire's warmth".

It is in this millennia-long trauma of being hunted by animals, and eaten by them, Ehrenreich suggests, that we can find the source of "our human habit of sacralising violence: in the terror inspired by the devouring beast and in the powerful emotions, associated with courage and altruism, that were required for group defence". There is no doubt that for most cultures war is a "sacred" activity. If Ehrenreich's analysis is correct, it casts light not only on the passions of war — the "noble" feelings it stirs — but also on the passions of religion, something that Ehrenreich herself does not explore but which richly deserves inquiry.

As the *San Francisco Chronicle* comments, *Blood Rites* does require us to re-examine "what it means to be human". There is much to chew on. Other topics covered include the blood-thirsty nature of the original "goddesses" (rather uncomfortable reading for many Western feminists, I suspect); the origins of male domination and the creation of male warrior elites; an anthropological survey of war-making; the centrality of blood sacrifice to religion through the ages, and its relationship to war; and the un-naturalness of modern warfare.

On this last point, Ehrenreich points out that most of present-day war consists of *preparation* for war: "instinct does not mobilise supply lines, manufacture rifles, issue uniforms, or move an army of thousands from point A to point B". Furthermore, "surprisingly, even in the thick of battle, few men can bring themselves to shoot directly at individual enemies" (citing US Lieutenant-Colonel D Grossman).

There are weaknesses in the book — particularly in Ehrenreich's treatment of issues of class and power: she seems to suggest that oppressive social structures (such as feudalism) have been created in order to sustain military elites. This may be



true, but some evidence is called for — it seems much more plausible that those who hold power, and who benefit from new social arrangements, will exercise violence, and employ military elites, to retain and

advance their privileges, rather than the other ways around.

Despite some flaws, *Blood Rites* is an extremely important book. I urge you not to miss it. Readers of *Peace News* will be heartened to hear that Ehrenreich herself is a committed anti-militarist, and she ends her book with "one crucial lesson: that the passions we bring to war can be brought just as well to the struggle against war." Amen.

Roger S Powers & William B Voegelé, **Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage** (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1997, ISBN 0 81530 913 9, 610pp). Reviewed by ANDREW RIGBY.

The sub-title of this reference book is not strictly accurate — the first entry is not "ACT-UP", an acronym for the United States based "AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power". It is "Abolitionist Movement (United States)". The final entry is not "Women's Suffrage", it is "Zambia, Anti-colonial Movement, 1953-1964".

Moving beyond pedantry, the aim of this encyclopaedia is to provide a standard reference work on nonviolent action, defined by the editors as a range of methods for actively waging conflict without directly threatening or inflicting physical harm to human beings. As such, the book includes case studies of nonviolent actions and campaigns, profiles of individuals and organisations, and analyses of different methods of nonviolent action.

When I started looking through this large volume, checking on its coverage, I had half a mind on a course on nonviolent social change that I was preparing. Within a short while I had scribbled down more than a dozen source references relevant to the course which I wanted to consult — topics ranging from Danish

resistance to Nazi occupation, transformatonal politics, everyday forms of resistance, civil society, and environmental protest in India. So, the book worked for me — fulfilling its function of providing easy access to information on a range of topics relating to forms of resistance and protest that eschew physical violence.

Obviously there are gaps and lacunae. The editors do acknowledge that the book has a bias to the United States, and to some extent this is understandable, but it is not always forgivable. For example, more space is devoted to Devere Allen, an American socialist pacifist who died in 1955, than to Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi's spiritual heir and the inspiration behind the *sarvodaya* movement in India. It was Vinoba who advocated the strategy of "gentle, gentler, gentlest" in relation to non-violent resistance — if at first you don't succeed, then adopt a gentler and less coercive form of action in order to touch the heart and soul of the opponent. A vastly different approach to nonviolence from the perspective that informs most activists these days! The tensions in the Indian *sarvodaya* movement in the 1970s polarised between Vinoba on the one hand and Jayaprakash Narayan on the other, with his advocacy of a far more active confrontational form of nonviolence informed by his overall concept of "total revolution". Neither Jayaprakash nor "total revolution" is mentioned in the book.

Even in coverage of the United States there are gaps — no entry for Bayard Rustin, the leading theoretician and organiser of the civil rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s and a prominent figure in the War Resisters League and the War Resisters' International.

But enough of the negative — this book fulfils its purpose as a work of reference. It is not a book to read from cover to cover, but to turn to when you want quick and easy access to basic information about some topic or other related to nonviolence. One final thought — will this work be made available on CD-ROM? It should be.

All the books and videos reviewed in *Peace News* are available from

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Reviews

We welcome your letters, but please keep them concise. Please send them to *Peace News* Letters, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DY, Britain, or by fax to +44 171 278 0444; or by e-mail to peaceneeds@gn.apc.org. We reserve the right not to publish any letter. (* indicates a letter has been edited.)



Dilemma of sanctions

Your editorial, in the December *PN*, about Iraq, while justifiable and dealing with an important moral problem, both oversimplifies and undersimplifies the issue. On the one hand, it is clear that about the only matter on which Clinton can get Congress united behind him is when he talks about war on Saddam. At the same time, we see photos in the papers of Iraqis queuing to "volunteer" to be in the army — ie to be killed — to defend Saddam against the US. We are reminded of Galtieri in Argentina, who loudly declared war on the tiny Falklands to get Argentines to unite behind his disgusting and discredited government. "War is the health of the state," as Hearst pointed out, and not only for anarchists to note. Nothing new for pacifists here.

On the other hand, the dictum that sanctions imposed on a country whose population doesn't support them are "clearly not non-violent" and therefore wrong, seems to oversimplify. If the majority of Serbians vote for Milosevic, are sanctions against Serbs thus not justified? The dictum seems to be of the same sort as that of the judge, reported in your pages, who says that even talking about direct action is terrorism; or that Food not Bombs direct action is the same as bombs-planted-in-a-public-building direct action.

In South America we have more reason than most to be suspicious of the US carrying out troop movements and supplying arms to ensure that its admitted or covert policy comes to pass. We have equally good reasons for looking with alarm at dictatorial regimes. Neither of those political forces is particularly interested in the suffering of the citizens willy-nilly involved — ordinary Algerians, ordinary Cambodians, ordinary Kurds. How is one to hit at the regime without hurting the citizens? As you say, it is a tricky moral and political dilemma.

In Iraq a UN team has not yet been able to ensure that Iraq demolishes its high-tech and biological weapons capacity. (In Israel, in spite of that country's continual defiance of UN resolutions, the UN hasn't even tried.) Should the UN give up and leave Saddam to prepare for the next war he will start, be it against "his own" Kurds, or some other (smaller) country? Is the editorial in fact arguing for the end of the oil embargo? If so, what substitutes should the peace movement offer to prevent Saddam's making of his country another Indonesia, another Burma, in which the population continues to suffer, only that this can no longer be laid at the door of the UN and the US, and therefore we can all sleep in peace?

John Roe, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Questioning self-sufficiency

I was interested to read Toma Šik's letter, in the January *PN*, about his plans for a travelling vegan, organic-gardening, egalitarian, self-sufficiency seeking, nonvio-

lent commune. However, I'm sorry to say that I was not at all surprised to find he'd had no takers for two years!

For a start, being vegan and self-sufficient is practically impossible. Moreover, self-sufficiency in a climate better suited to producing trees and grass than high-protein beans is more an ideal to be strived for than an achievable aim, even if one is proposing incredibly intensive composting or a return to swidden (for which you'll need more land than you'd ever be able to afford to buy). Self-sufficiency is of course in many ways a laudable ideal, but historically it is unusual as an aim of island-dwellers — when Britain first appeared in (Classical) history it was already noted for its wide trade links, the native Celtic tribes already extensively trading precious metals (notably gold and tin), furs, fighting dogs, slaves and culinary delicacies such as oysters, largely in exchange for weapons, wine, spices and foodstuffs from as far afield as North Africa. I can understand the attraction of economic independence, and of distancing oneself from inequitable global trade links, but is it realistic or indeed is it even the most desirable way of dealing with these problems?

As for a mobile self-sufficient vegan commune, you are asking the impossible. Such a group could well with time and experience become self-supporting, if you work hard at it and don't expect much more than basic subsistence — of course, you might develop a rich culture in terms of artistic/social/family life to make up for the lack of material wealth and possessions. But however self-supporting your putative "mobile cottage industries" allow you to become (and I have my doubts, or our traditional travelling communities would not so quickly have settled down since the War, or taken to largely sedentary scrap-dealing in preference), self-sufficiency is clearly impossible without the basic means of food production, ie land. You will never be able to feed yourselves entirely from a greenhouse, mobile or not. I am also unclear as to how driving campers and caravans around the countryside is supposed to contribute to ecologically-friendly living.

I don't want to put you down completely, but I do think you need to think a few things through rather more thoroughly. I would strongly suggest visiting a low-impact community such as Tinker's Bubble and having a good talk to the people there about what is possible and what is achievable. You seem at present to want to attempt the impossible. The idea of a mobile community, whilst it has a certain romantic appeal, is in practical terms a non-starter, and vegan self-sufficiency is perhaps best seen more as an ultimate aim than an achievable reality.

Good luck anyway.

Katy Andrews, London
k.andrews@icrf.icnet.uk

A strange way to save the world's atmosphere

In your report (January, page 2) on the Kyoto Summit on Climate Change, you note that over 10,000 delegates, etc, attended. Expending many millions of air-miles for the "games" (John Gummer's description) played at Kyoto is a strange way to save the world's atmosphere.

There is a need to explain to the general public that air transport is a major environmental and social problem: (i) the location of the emissions is a problem, both when they are in the upper atmosphere and when they are concentrated near busy airports and military bases; (ii) the infrastructure of airports and the long surface journeys to and from them add to the environmental impact; (iii) aviation fuel is not taxed; (iv) flight is mostly for the

benefit of a small, prosperous fraction of the world's people; (v) air transport is rapidly increasing.

You mentioned the Earth Firsters campaign at Manchester airport. May I add that Scientists for Global Responsibility and other organisations and individuals helped to draw attention to these questions with the Climate Train project. Environmentalists from Europe and points east travelled to the Kyoto conference by train and ferry (and some did the last 70km, from Kobe, by bicycle). The long travelling time was put to good use with many discussions, meetings, press releases and artistic events, on board and at stopovers.

I invite readers who would like more information about the environmental impact of flight and about the Climate Train to visit Scientists for Global Responsibility's website (www.gn.apc.org/sgr/) or to fax us.

Alan Cottey,

Scientists for Global Responsibility,
Unit 3, Down House, Business Village,
Broomhill Rd, London SW18 4JQ
(tel +44 181 871 5175;
fax +44 181 877 1940;
email sgr@gn.apc.org).

Nonviolence, animal rights and press freedom*

I am writing concerning my last letter (January *PN*). I fear some people have misinterpreted it to be an attack on *Arkangel* magazine. It was never designed to be so.

Arkangel magazine is a first class British Animal Rights magazine and currently one of the few magazines that acts as a forum for discussion for the Animal Liberation movement here in Britain.

As stated in my previous letter, I have initiated a debate within *Arkangel* about the use of violent direct action. *Arkangel*, as an open forum for discussion, has willingly allowed this debate.

In *Arkangel* 18 there was a response to my original article about the use of violence in the animal lib movement. As the article replying to my article raised a number of valid points I felt a response was needed.

My response continued to condemn the use of violent direct action, but I wrote highly favourably about the use of non-violent direct action. After I'd read through my response, I realised that there were sections in it that could be regarded as inciting illegal nonviolent actions.

When I sent my article to *Arkangel* I pointed out that there were parts which could be regarded as inciting and that they may not wish to publish it in its entirety. The editor of *Arkangel* agreed with me and said he would publish an edited version of my article. This is not an attempt to stifle debate, but so that *Arkangel* remains within the law.

The reason I mentioned the incident in my original letter was to show how stupid incitement laws are in that they are effectively stopping a very good magazine from publishing an article in its entirety because of the very clear threat of legal action if they did publish it.

I am truly, deeply sorry, if anyone thought I was criticising *Arkangel* — it's a really good magazine, and if people haven't already taken out a sub I'd encourage them to do so (*Arkangel*, BCM 9240, London, WC1N 3XX).

For Animal/Earth Lib,

Noel Molland,
CK4321, Guys Marsh Prison,
Shaftesbury, Dorset SP7 0AH, England

Rationality and Culture*

In the last few issues of *PN* there has appeared an advert inserted by Toma Šik

which says that rationality is the only way to peace. I imagine most of your readers took little notice of what they would see as an unexceptional statement — who would claim to be unreasonable? — but I'm afraid it implies an understanding of human nature which I feel is fatal to our project of a peaceful world. Let me explain.

Roughly, when we examine humanity we find it assembled into groups, cultures, nations, religions, languages etc, within which there is a peace of a sort, but between these groups there is endless war. Now there is partial peace within the groups because in some sense they share a common world view — there is enough agreement on questions of right and wrong for life to go on; for "civilisation" (!) to appear.

So the first solution to the problem of war that came to humanity was to make one culture world-wide, whether it be Christian, Moslem, or in the case of Alexander of Macedonia, Greek. These did not succeed, and the next solution that was tried is that advocated by Toma and his fellow rationalists — that of Enlightenment, that of reason. As he would say, the attempt to bring peace by means of religion, mysticism etc has failed. The vision of the Enlightenment was that the voice of reason could be heard by all human beings regardless of outlook — it would bypass and overreach all cultural divisions — and the vast influence of Marxism, which may be described as a messianic rationalism, shows that there is much to this idea. Even more powerful, successful, and rational is the vision of global capitalism, hymned so eloquently by Francis Fukuyama. But this shows that the rational is not necessarily humane.

The search for a rational ethic has been the Philosophers' Stone of the modern age, although its origins go back to Socrates who thought that evil was the result of ignorance — if one knew all the facts, one would make the right decision.

Toma is repeating the mistake of the Christians and the Moslems in assuming that there is one path to peace, that of rationality. The way forward as I see it is to work within the aforementioned groups so that they become humanisms. That is, to develop their worldview and values so that they see that their purpose is not to advance their own agenda on sectional interests, but to see that in their own outlook they have a unique contribution to make to the unity and happiness of humanity.

Those of you who have heard me at Speakers' Corner in London will see that

Homage or Humbug?

GENERAL SMUTS: "A prince among men has passed away, and we grieve with India in her irreparable loss."

May we remind General Smuts that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, forbidding Indians in South Africa to purchase or use property, has not yet been withdrawn? That last year nearly 2,000 Indians were arrested for peacefully defying this Act? That one of Gandhi's last appeals was to "the best Western minds of South Africa to revise this anti-Asiatic and anti-colour prejudice"?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: "Another giant among men has fallen in the cause of brotherhood and peace."

May we remind President Truman that several thousand conscientious objectors are still deprived of political and civil rights in the USA for having championed the same cause by the same means as Gandhi?

ANDREI GROMYKO: "His name will always be linked with the struggle of the Indian people for independence."

May we remind Mr Gromyko that there are other countries still struggling for independence — the Baltic States for example.

THE POPE: "Expressed profound emotion and preoccupation for the future of India."

May we remind His Holiness that the future of Europe calls for spiritual leadership as great as Gandhi's.

THE EDITORS OF THE DAILY EXPRESS, NEWS-CHRONICLE, etc, etc

May we remind these gentlemen that Gandhi publicly defended the Peace Pledge Union against the "unmeasured condemnation" of the Press? That he was not more "uncompromising" in his resistance to an alien dictatorship than those European pacifists whom they accused of "collaboration", and that he was murdered for opposing militant nationalism, by the editor of a nationalist paper?

Finally, may we remind Gandhi's admirers, whoever they may be, of the words of St John Chrysostom: "He who praises a man ought to follow him, and if he be not ready to follow him, he ought not to praise him."

(*Peace News*, 13 February 1948; *Mobandas K Gandhi* was assassinated on 30 January 1948.)

I am trying to do this with my own tradition, Roman Catholicism. It's what Karl Popper called "piecemeal social engineering".

To change hearts and minds you have to speak to human beings in their own language, put our vision of world peace in terms of their own outlook. Human beings are very attached to their culture — it's like love me, love my dog: love me, love my culture. This is in no way an alternative to our present activities, but our work is hindered if we see it as an appeal to reason, for human life is driven by the imagination, not by reason — by that which is meaningful, satisfying, coherent, unifying — in a word, by culture. There are no rational solutions to cultural differences to communal violence, only the greater vision that we have yet to create, that of a peaceful and loving humanity.

Peter Lumsden, London

Legs of Steel*

I would like to add my memories of John Steel (whose obituary appeared in the January *PN*) to those of Pat Arrowsmith and Richard Crump. One of his weekly commitments, not mentioned, was his

regular Tuesday arrival at Molesworth Peace Camp in time for the morning Vigil, during the 1980s.

Coming from Billericay, and walking the last part of the way, after the Vigil he would share lunch with us in the Caravan or in the Peace Garden. Like all that John did, it was done quietly and with dignity.

During the time that I lived in the caravan, it was so important for us to have regular visits from our supporters. I always felt that the long walk beforehand was part of John's vigil, he made it like a pilgrimage.

I joined about 60 of his friends and colleagues from different organisations, as well as members of his family, in a very moving humanist meeting at Chelmsford crematorium, where several people spoke, including his granddaughter, and we learned more about his life.

If people are interested, and would like to send me fair copy, A4 size, of their memories etc, of John, I will undertake to make a document to give to his family. We hope later to be able to organise a memorial service or meeting.

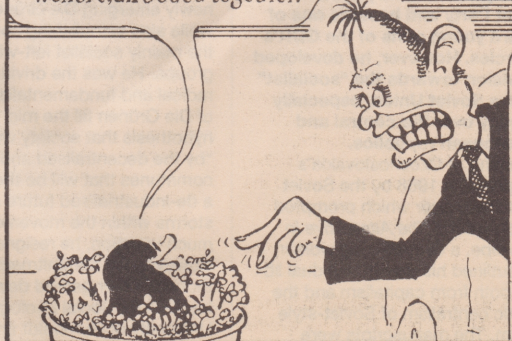
Peggie Preston, Flat 11N, Peabody Estate, Wild St, London WC2B 4BX

Room with a view

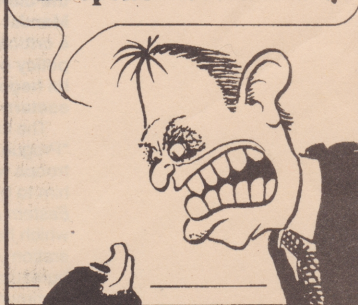
The welfare system has to be reformed. We spend more on welfare than on health, education, and the police added together.



...And more on the Trident killing machine than on health, education, the police, and welfare, all added together.



We don't say "killing machine"! We say "independent deterrent"!



On 9 December the British government admitted that its nuclear habit was actually costing the nation slightly more than they'd been saying — £940 million a year (rather than the previously declared £200 million). CND put the cost at £1.4 billion.

Danilo Dolci (1924-1997)

The Sicilian Gandhi

● Michael Randle

Danilo Dolci, who died on 30 December, was one of the century's outstanding pioneers of nonviolent direct action. His extraordinary achievement was to challenge the combined authority of the mafia, the Catholic hierarchy, and the Christian Democrats in Sicily — and survive. And not only survive but, in the teeth of their opposition, to bring about changes that made a real difference to the lives of the peasants and urban poor amongst whom he lived and worked for the last 45 years of his life. He was also active in the international pacifist movement and for a number of years a Council member of War Resisters' International.

Born in Trieste in 1924 of a middle-class family, he studied architecture at Milan University. At the age of 25, on the threshold of an orthodox professional career, he threw it all away and went to live in a co-operative community providing refuge and rehabilitation for destitute children and their families. "I suddenly felt that I was about to become fossilised," James McNeish quotes him as saying in his biography, *Fire Under the Ashes*:

I was about to bury myself in a materialist society which glorified intellect to the point where it killed feelings, those very feelings which could become actions. And I felt the need for action.

Public fasts

That need was expressed in his work in Western Sicily to where he moved in 1952. Appalled by the poverty, and the indifference to it of the state and local authorities, he embarked later that year on a public fast in the house of a woman whose child he had watched die of starvation whilst waiting for the doctor to arrive. His demand — that the authorities provide immediate work and relief for the village — was finally met on the eighth day of his fast when the then Italian Prime Minister, Restivo, committed government funds to an improvement programme.

Dolci was to use the method of fasting, both individual and collective, on several

subsequent occasions. In February 1956, he led one thousand unemployed workers in a 24-hour public fast followed by a "reverse strike" in which they worked on building a public road without pay as a way of demonstrating their willingness to work and as a way of shaming the authorities. Dolci and six others were arrested but the case aroused world-wide publicity and drew attention to the desperate plight of Sicily's poor and unemployed. His most tangible successes came in 1962 and 1963 with government decisions, after years of prevarication, to construct the lato and Bruca dams, projects that were crucial to reducing the stranglehold of the Mafia who controlled much of the water supply in that arid region of Sicily. In each case success followed years of campaigning, feasibility studies, the painstaking collection of evidence, and finally public fasts by Dolci. More important still, certainly for Dolci himself, was the galvanising effect his campaigns had on a demoralised and exploited community.

A big man

I first met Danilo Dolci in 1961 at a WRI Council in his "Centre for Studies and Action Towards Full Employment" in Partinico. He was a big man, growing more rotund with the years — in this

respect quite unlike the lean and ascetic Gandhi. (He insisted, too, that he developed his methods of nonviolent campaigning without knowing about Gandhi, and only came to him at a later point.) He was excellent company, a great raconteur and a sympathetic listener who held you in a direct and unflinching gaze when he was talking or listening to you. He was an accomplished musician — and also writer — and almost invariably ended up giving informal piano recitals at WRI gatherings.

At the Stavanger WRI Triennial in 1963, some of us were amused to see the eminent Franco-Italian Gandhian and founder of the Communauté de l'Arche ("the Ark"), Lanzo del Vasto, dressed in a flowing white robe and bearing a large wooden crucifix down his front, stepping majestically down from the first class compartment of the plane in which he had been travelling. When Danilo heard of this, his eyes twinkled merrily behind his rimless glasses: "I am surprised," he said, "that he didn't come in a sailing boat." It was touches like that which gave the lie to the suggestion he was a saint — a suggestion he himself dismissed as absurd. In truth he was something more important, a man of extraordinary dedication and determination who yet retained a sense of his own and other's human foibles.



Danilo Dolci (left) shares a microphone with Johan Galtung at the 1960 WRI Triennial in India.

PHOTO: WRI

Rudolf Bahro (1935-1997)

● Ümit Öztürk

Rudolf Bahro, the maverick German socialist and green, died in November last year. Born in Bad Flinzberg, eastern Germany, in 1935, he joined the Communist Party and became one of the die-hard young guns of the GDR's Marxist circles. However, he developed a critical vision towards the "socialist" policy of the Soviet Union, especially its hegemony over the central and eastern European republics.

The crushing of Czechoslovakia's "Prague Spring" in 1968 by the Soviet troops was the trigger which prompted him to begin writing *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*, a decade-long work in which he outlined his theory of a dual liberation — both from capitalism and the bureaucratic centralism of Soviet-style communism. The manuscripts were smuggled to West Germany and published there in 1978. The Eastern German authorities charged him with "revealing

state secrets" and sentenced him to eight years' imprisonment. An international outcry ensured his release and he was allowed to settle — in other words to live *de facto* as an exile — in West Germany.

Bahro discovered and soon joined the newly emerging Die Grünen (The Greens), while also establishing contacts among the mainly socialist left-wing political groups. He was the driving force of the radical and fundamentalist wing (*fundis*) of Die Grünen till the mid 1980s. His hypothesis that society will be liberated "by the decentralised and self-ruling communes that will be the vanguards of a de-industrialised future society" caused storms within the movement and, with much vexation, he resigned in 1985. However, his commitment to green thought never geared down. He led the Institute for Social Ecology at the University of Humboldt and produced several books — including *Socialism and Survival* (1982) and *Building the Green Movement* (1986).

The past few years in Bahro's life were quite quiet — some have linked this to the suicide of his wife in 1993. He will be remembered as an unrepeatable figure in Germany's socialist and green movements.

Next issue

Obituaries of Alan Mister, Philip Seed and Alan Eden-Green — all three pacifists connected with *Peace News* — will appear in the March issue.

There will be a memorial celebration for Alan Eden-Green at 2.30pm on Tuesday 17 February, at Church House, Deans' Yard, Westminster, London. Readers who wish to attend should contact Nick Eden-Green on 01227 470416.

Bill Hetherington

Michael Tippett, who died on 8 January shortly after his 93rd birthday, has been rightly celebrated for his contribution to the music of this century. Less attention has been paid to his notable contribution to the pacifist movement.

Aged 9 at the outbreak of the First World War, Michael was affected by the fervour for the war without understanding its full implications. At the age of 13 he refused to join the Officer Training Corps at his school. Later, increasingly disappointed by the failure to realise the aspirations for which the war had supposedly been fought, he, like many idealists, briefly joined the Communist Party. He then turned to the Musicians' Group of the Militant faction in the Labour Party. His play, *War Ramp*, confronting the conflict of political idealism and pacifism, was performed at Labour Party rallies.

Conscientious objector

After seeing in a newsreel the endless rows of little crosses in Flanders, he "knew I must work towards a climate in which repetition of such brutalities would never be accepted". Disillusioned with party politics, Michael joined the Peace Pledge Union (PPU) in 1940. The Second World War sealed his reputation both as a pacifist and a composer. In June 1943, he refused the condition of his conscientious objection tribunal that he should undertake full-time civil defence, fire service or land work, arguing that music was his most constructive contribution to society. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment: "When I entered Wormwood Scrubs it was really as if I had come home".

The first performance of Michael's *Concerto for Double String Orchestra* was given at Wigmore Hall in July, whilst he was "detained elsewhere" — rehearsing the Scrubs orchestra! He also had the pleasure of a visiting performance by Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears, fellow musicians and COs, at which, against normal prison rules, he was invited onto the platform on the pretext that he was needed to turn the pages. Ben and Peter entertained Michael to breakfast immediately upon his release, and a celebratory performance of his *Second Quartet* was given at Wigmore Hall later in the day.

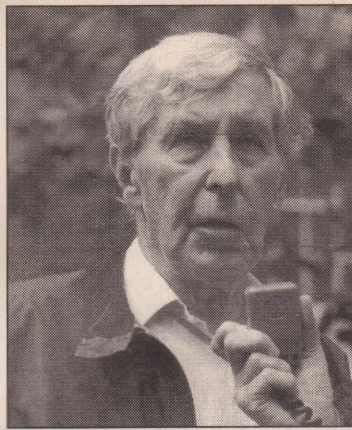


PHOTO: IVAN KYNCL

Meanwhile, in direct response to Kristallnacht — the November 1938 pogrom against German Jews — Michael had begun, two days after the British declaration of war, to compose the oratorio *A Child of our Time*, as "an impassioned protest against the conditions that make persecution possible". The work was completed in 1941, first performed in March 1944 at the Adelphi Theatre, London, and was the beginning of Michael's prominence as a composer.

A few months later, in a short pamphlet for *Peace News* entitled *Abundance of Creation*, Michael argued that "if a pacifist has to contract out of an intolerable social condition, he needs to sense that he is contracting in to something more generous... we are only able to contract out of war into peace".

Peace Pledge Union

After the war, he served for some years on the PPU Council, culminating in a year as Chair, and was also a Director of *Peace News*, to which he contributed from time to time. In 1959 he was elected as honorary President of the PPU, as which he continued until his death.

Despite honours accorded by the state, including a knighthood and the Order of Merit, Michael continued to record in his *Who's Who* entry his imprisonment and its cause. And despite his increasingly busy schedule of composition and performance he often found time to talk to PPU meetings or be interviewed by *PN*. In a mes-

sage in 1963, sent just before boarding a plane for Berlin, he was surprisingly prophetic:

My going through the wall with permits will help no one who feels they must risk their lives to cross. That cannot be helped till the Germans themselves, aided by the rest of us, have prepared themselves to the point of nonviolent "attack" — if that is the right word.

At the age of 89, despite declining health and poor sight, Michael made a particular effort to unveil, in Tavistock Square, London, the Commemorative Stone to Conscientious Objectors.

In remembering Michael's gentle, unassuming support, we can find a fitting epitaph in the final words of *Abundance of Creation*:

Lately a word has been carved for us on a Swiss chalet, to which we can hold and which significantly puts the joy first: En haut les cœurs; à bas les armes — Lift up your hearts; lay down your weapons.

A musical appreciation

Jim Huggon

It is worth remembering, when acknowledging Michael Tippett's gigantic contribution to the music of the twentieth century, that — unlike his contemporary and fellow-pacifist Benjamin Britten — he was a very late starter; he did not commence his musical studies until his late teens and created few waves as a student.

Indeed his first string quartet was not completed until 1935, and then was revised considerably in 1943. This was followed by the *First Piano Sonata* in 1938. His *Concerto for Double String Orchestra*, completed in 1939, and the oratorio *A Child of Our Time* (1941) put him, for the first time, firmly in the musical public's eye — and ear.

These latter two are still his most widely performed works, probably his most accessible ones too — and have become masterpieces of twentieth century music.

Some early works had a complexity that bemused public and critics alike: the notorious premiere of his *Second Symphony* under Adrian Boult broke down in disorder and had to have a movement restarted.

Song and counterpoint

If his wide variety of compositions, in different media, for different forces, and in a variety of styles, can be characterised in any succinct way, it would be that song was central to his output, even (especially) to his purely instrumental works, and that counterpoint was the cornerstone of his music. The emphasis on song he shared with Britten; his love of counterpoint harks back to his love of the English Tudor composers whose works he did much to promote during his years as head of music at Morley College in the 1940s and early 1950s.

Also, over the considerable span of his creative life — his two last large-scale works, *Byzantium* and *The Rose Lake* were complete in 1989 and 1993 respectively — perhaps the complexity of his early works has given way to a kind of simplicity, the kind of which only true genius is capable. One of the giants of twentieth century music, Tippett lived long enough to be able to enjoy the kind of public appreciation and true affection that most artists only receive when they are dead.

Denise Levertov (1923-1997)

The English-born poet Denise Levertov, who died in December last year, lived for most of her life in the United States. Active in the anti-war and anti-nuclear power movements, she helped found Writers and Artists Protest Against the War in Vietnam, edited a book of poetry for the War Resisters League, and was poetry editor of *Mother Jones* magazine.

Misnomer

They speak of the art of war, but the arts draw their light from the soul's well, and warfare dries up the soul and draws its power from a dark and burning wasteland. When Leonardo set his genius to devising machines of destruction he was not acting in the service of art, he was suspending the life of art over an abyss, as if one were to hold a living child out of an airplane window at thirty thousand feet.

(*Evening Train*, 1992)

Society

events & stuff

These listings are a free service and only include events specifically inviting **international** participation. Priority is given to free events and actions. Please send information well in advance (see p2 for final deadline). Be sure to include a contact address and phone number, indicating if these are not for publication.

Please include access information for wheelchair users and others with disabilities, and details like crèche facilities.

If you're not able to make it to an event listed here (perhaps it's on the other side of the world), remember that most campaigns very much appreciate international support and solidarity actions.

8-14 February

CO in Europe

Budapest, Hungary: European Bureau for Conscientious Objectors study session on right to conscientious objection in Europe. Details: EBCO, rue van Elewyck 35, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium (+32 2 648 5220; fax 640 0774; email ebco@club.innet.be; http://www.club.innet.be/~ind2088/ebco).

20-21 February

Planning for the NPT

Geneva, Switzerland: international planning seminar in advance of Non-Proliferation Treaty Review, due to take place 17 April to 8 May 1998. Contact: Edith Ballantyne, NGO Committee on Disarmament, c/o WILPF, CP 28, 1211 Genève 20, Switzerland (+41-22 733 6175; fax 740 1063; email womensleague@gn.apc.org).

23-25 February

Action against "free" trade

Geneva, Switzerland: members of people's movements from all continents meet in to launch the People's Global Action Against "Free" Trade and the World Trade Organisation. See January *PN* for details, or contact: Play Fair Europe!, Turmstr 3, 52072 Aachen, Germany (+49 241 803792; fax 8888394; email playfair@asta.rwth-aachen.de).

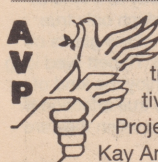
March onwards

Jabiluka blockade

Jabiluka, Australia: major blockade against new development at Jabiluka uranium mine, Kakadu National Park. Exact dates still to be finalised. International activists with experience of NVDA particularly welcome. More details in January *PN*, or contact: John Hallam, Friends of the Earth Sydney, Suite 15, 1st Floor, 104 Bathurst Street, Sydney, NSW 2000 (+61 2 9283 2004; fax 9283 2005; email foesydney@peg.apc.org; http://www.peg.apc.org/~foesydney/).

13-15 March

AVP training



San Francisco, USA: Advanced training for Alternatives to Violence Project trainers. Contact: Kay Anderson, 723

Shrader Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-2721 (+1 415 668 3077; email kayander@igc.org).

15 March

Against police brutality

Everywhere: Citizens Against Police Brutality in Montréal, Quebec, is organising the second International Day Against Police Brutality. In 1997, over 50 groups from 14 countries participated, organising demos, workshops, conferences, cultural activities, etc. If you want to take part, email seahorse@odyssey.net with your plans!

3-5 April

Gathering Visions



Manchester, England: the second Gathering Visions, Gathering Strength will bring together nonviolent activists from across movements and generations to explore social change, build links between movements, and share skills and ideas. Contact: Cath at CND, One World Centre, 6 Mount Street, Manchester M2 5NS, England (+44 161 834 8301; fax 834 8187; email gmcnd@gn.apc.org).

Colorado Springs, USA: Meeting of Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space. Strategy session and protests at bases in Colorado Springs. Contact: Citizens for Peace in Space, PO Box 915, Colorado Springs, CO 80901 (+1 719 389 0644).

8-10 April

Peace in space

Britain: First council meeting with representatives from each affinity group. See news story, page 6. Contact: Trident Ploughshares 2000, 42-46 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk NR2 1NR, Britain (+44 1603 611953; fax 666879).

10-12 April

Trident ploughshares 2000

Nevada, USA: Spring gatherings incorporating and supporting NVDA at Nevada Test Site. Indigenous delegations from Australia, Taiwan and other native nations expected. Contact: Healing Global Wounds, PO Box 13, Boulder Creek, CA 95006, USA (+1 408 338 0147); Nevada Desert Experience, PO Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV (+1 702 646 4814; fax 631 5538; email nde@igc.org; http://www.shundahai.org).

10-13 April

Healing global wounds

Britain: Launch of "Pledge to Prevent Nuclear Crime". See 10-12 April.

2 May

Trident ploughshares 2000

24 May
Women's peace day
Everywhere: International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament (details in January *PN*). Contact:

15 May

International COs' Day

15 May

Clean up the base!

Okinawa, Japan: festival for peace at gates of Kadena US Air Base and proposed site of new helicopter base, including music, sacred runners and a youth candle parade surrounding the base. The organisers plan to close the base through the power of unarmed citizens. They also hope to welcome war victims from Vietnam and Iraq to share their experiences. Since there are some risks in conducting this festival, international support and solidarity actions will be crucial. Contact: People's Task Force for Bases Clean-up, Philippines, email basecln@psdn.org.ph.

16 May

Global Street Party!

Everywhere: Since its first appearance in London in 1995, the street party has been erupting across the world with its collision of love and rage, carnival and revolution, politics and party. Groups in London and Finland are now proposing to hold a Global Street Party on Saturday 16 May, coinciding with the G8 meeting in Birmingham, England (where world leaders of the eight largest economies meet to make decisions about the future of the planet and its people). Global resistance to global capitalism — imagine a web of resurgence/defiance reaching across the world! Interested groups should respond to London RTS by 5 February if possible. Contact: Reclaim the Streets, PO Box 9656, London N4 4JY, England (+44 171 281 4621; email rts@gn.apc.org; http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/rt.html).

20-24 May

Hope & Resistance

Near Kiel, Germany: A gathering organised by and for ploughshares and other radical nonviolent activists. Five days of workshops, walks, radical democracy and self-entertainment. Themes: How do we sustain ourselves as activists?; Evaluating the past year's resistance; Spirituality and resistance. Working language English. For more details and copy of Hope & Resistance Handbook: Hope & Resistance, Box X, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ, Britain (email stephen@gn.apc.org).

24 May

Women's peace day

Page 20 *Peace News* February 1998

Where were you in 1968?

In 1968, at the height of the Vietnam War, the US Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) was busy helping hundreds of thousands sort through their choices, training hundreds of draft counsellors, and supporting the growing resistance to the war.

As the CCCO celebrates its 50th anniversary this year, they want to hear from anyone with memories of that time. Whether you served in Vietnam and came home to tell your story; sought conscientious objector status or other deferments; burned your draft card and actively fought the war; or were a draft counsellor, protester, or concerned mother, they want to hear your story. If you are too young to remember the war in Vietnam, and first heard of CCCO in 1980 when draft registration was re-imposed, or in 1990 when the Gulf War began, they'd still like to hear from you.

Contact: CCCO, 655 Sutter St #514, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA (+1 415 474 3002; email cccowr@peacenet.org; <http://www.libertynet.org/ccco>).

IPB, 41 rue de Zürich, 1201 Genève, Switzerland (+41 22 731 6429; fax 738 9419; email ipb@gn.apc.org; <http://www.itu.ch/ipb/>).

29-31 May

European Peace Congress



Osnabrück, Germany: Themes will include conscientious objection as a human right, political-pacifist peace concepts, protection of war refugees and COs, and non-military means and strategies for settling conflicts. Contact: European Peace Congress Osnabrück 1998, Postfach 4124, D-49031 Osnabrück, Germany (+49 541 260650; fax 260680; email PeaceCongress1998@t-online.de; <http://www.dfg-vk.de/peacecongress1998>).

31 May 1998 - June 1999

Retracing journey of slavery

United States, Caribbean, Brazil, West Africa, South Africa: The Buddhist order Nipponzan Myohoji is organising an "Interfaith Pilgrimage of the Middle Passage" retracing the journey of the victims of the slave trade (see January *PN*). Contact: Interfaith Pilgrimage of the Middle Passage, c/o First Congregational Church, Room 11, 165 Main Street, Amherst, MA 01002, USA (+1 413 256 6698). Contact for European parallel walk: London Peace Pagoda, c/o Park Manager's Office, Battersea Park, Albert Bridge Road, London SW11 4NJ, Britain (+44 171 228 9620).

1-3 June

Stop EuroSatory arms fair

Bourget, near Paris, France: demonstration calling for an end to arms exports to repressive regimes or regions of tension and the closure of EuroSatory arms fair (see January *PN* for details). Contact: European Network Against Arms Trade, c/o Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, Netherlands (tel & fax +31 20 61 64 684; email amokmar@antenna.nl).

13-28 June

Nonviolence training

Wustrow, Germany: International training for nonviolence: nonviolence in the context of war or armed conflict (in English). Contact: KURVE Wustrow, 14 Kirchstr, 29462 Wustrow, Germany (+49 5843 507; fax 5843 1405; email kurve-wustrow@oln.comlink.apc.org).

16 June

International Refugee Day

Everywhere: Day of activities organised by many refugee support and human rights organisations. Contact: UNITED for Intercultural Action, Postbus 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam, Netherlands (+31 20 6834778; fax 6834582; email united@antenna.nl; <http://www.xs4all.nl/~united>).

11-25 August

Trident Ploughshares 2000

Faslane, Scotland: Two-week disarmament camp at Trident nuclear weapons base. See 10-12 April.



17-19 August

People for Peace

Burg Schlaining, Austria: conference to provide input to 1999 Hague Peace Conference and to bring together people to advance the evolving global culture of peace. Organised by International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES), Nuclear Age Peace Foundation,

19-24 September

WRI Triennial

Poreč, Croatia: War Resisters' International Triennial Conference on the theme "Choosing Peace Together" (see back page, this issue). A meeting place for all committed to nonviolence and creating a world without war



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CHOOSING
Mir
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Zajedno
TOGETHER**

and oppression. For more information, contact: WRI, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, Britain (+44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444; email warresisters@gn.apc.org).

Santa Barbara, California, and the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution. More details: Basil Massey, Gutenbergstrasse 31, 44139 Dortmund, Germany (+49 231 575202; fax 231 57 52 10; email R.Braun@lilly.ping.de).

16-19 October

75th anniversary of WRL

USA: Major conference, demonstrations and civil disobedience, and the second Day Without the Pentagon, Washington, DC, USA. Contact: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, USA (+1 212 228 0450; fax 228 6193; email wrl@igc.org; <http://www.nonviolence.org/wrl>).

November 15-19

Beyond Growth

Santiago, Chile: Beyond Growth: Policies and Institutions for Sustainability. Conference organised by International Society for Ecological Economics. For information e-mail iseeconf@abello.dic.uchile.cl or visit <http://www.uchile.cl/facultades/ISEE3.html>.

10 March - 12 Oct 1999

Free Tibet bike tour

Switzerland to Nepal: For Mother Earth Free Tibet Bike Tour in 1999, marking the 50th anniversary of Chinese invasion. Details in December *PN*. Contact: For Mother Earth International, Lange Steenstr 16/D, 9000 Gent, Belgium (tel & fax +32 9 233 8439; email tibet@motherearth.knooppunt.be; <http://www.motherearth.org/>).

10-15 May 1999

Hague Appeal for Peace

The Hague, Netherlands: World Wide Citizens' Peace conference, Sponsors include International Peace Bureau. Themes include strengthening international law and institutions, conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict reconciliation, disarmament, peacekeeping, peace education, culture of peace... Contact: Hague Office, IALANA International Secretariat, Anna Paulownastraat 103, 2518 BC Den Haag, Netherlands (+31 70 3634484; fax 3455951; email ialana@antenna.nl).

Subjunctive campaigns

We don't want to march straight continued from page 13

repress the homoerotic impulses which are a sub-text to military life. The bonding between soldiers in predominantly single-sex units — where they shower, work, eat and sleep together — has strong queer undertones. When men and women depend on each other in life and death situations and are required to risk their lives for the sake of their comrades, it is not surprising that feelings of intense loyalty and affection can easily develop. And this is the rub. The military needs homoeroticism to function, but despises it because the "softness" and "tenderness" of queer desire is seen as undermining the aggression and bloodlust necessary for warfare.

Irrespective of how badly the armed forces mistreat homosexuals, there is a more fundamental question that needs answering. Why would queers want to join a homophobic, straight institution and conform to straight expectations? The modern queer agenda is post-equality. We want more than simply an equal age of consent for heterosexuals and homosexuals, and more than mere equal treatment in the way other laws, such as those against prostitution and pornography, are enforced. The whole system has to change. That demands social transfor-

mation. It means, in the words of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), moving "beyond civil libertarian goals" to achieve a "revolutionary change" which "abolishes the

"Irrespective of how badly the armed forces mistreat homosexuals, there is a more fundamental question that needs answering. Why would queers want to join a homophobic, straight institution and conform to straight expectations? The modern queer agenda is post-equality."

gender system" and creates a "new social order" which is not based on "straight male privilege".

Military values not compatible with human liberation

GLF saw the military as the embodiment, and defender, of society's most oppressive values: hierarchy, domination, violence, prejudice, conservatism, inequality, conformity, authoritarianism. These

military values are not compatible with human liberation in any form, least of all queer freedom. In contrast, anti-militarist ethics coincide with those of the gay emancipation movement: egalitarianism, solidarity, democracy, cooperation, individuality and liberation. It is for this reason that the queer rights group Outrage! challenges both military homophobia and militarism.

The Outrage! ethos of queer non-compliance with homophobic institutions like the military is rooted in the civil disobedience tradition of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Unjust laws must be broken, not obeyed. Oppressive institutions should be subverted, not endorsed. By contributing to the evolution of a more compassionate civilisation transcending violence and war, queer resistance to military machismo can, we believe, help benefit all of humanity.

Peter Tatchell's book, *We Don't Want to March Straight*, is published by Cassell (£4.99, ISBN 0-304-33373-5) and is available from Housmans Bookshop.

For further information, contact: OutRage!, 5 Peter Street, London W1V 3RR, Britain (+44 181 876 4735; email OutRage@cygnet.co.uk; <http://www.OutRage.cygnet.co.uk>).

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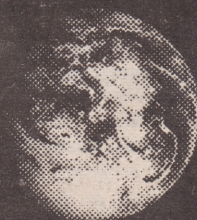
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EVENTS

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● **HELP USE ONLY PLANTS** to overcome hunger. Campaigners needed for awareness project. Write to 38 Hampden Road, Hitchin, Herts SG4 0LD.

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VIETNAM

Commemorate an event and help re-green Vietnam.
 £5 plants a tree in the "Forest of Friendship".
 SAE to Len Aldis, Sec, Britain-Vietnam Friendship Society, Flat 2, 26 Tomlins Grove, London E3 4NX.

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John Stringer, 12 Groveside, Yoxford, Saxmundham IP17 3HT, Suffolk.

● **ARE YOU INTERESTED** in a "PLOUGHSHARES-STYLE" action for the environment? Write to Dept 126, 1 Newton Street, Manchester M1 1HW.

● **THE INTERNATIONAL** Institute of Peace Studies and Global Philosophy plans to publish a Multicultural Dictionary of Peace. Info and contributions: Thomas Daffern, project leader, tel 01386-750965; Gordana Netkovska, production editor, tel 0181-302 2200.

RETREATS

● **TIME TO RETREAT?** Individual retreats — 5/7 day alternative holiday retreats at Higher Boden, a magical place of re-creation and retreat for those in search of their own inner wisdom and direction, or a place to rest. Higher Boden, Manaccan, Helston, Cornwall TR12 6EN, GB. Tel: 01326 231587.

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VOLUNTEERS

BALKAN PEACE TEAM

needs volunteers for its projects in Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
 Contact: BPT, Ringstr 9a, 32427 Minden, Germany (e-mail balkan-peace-team@bionic.zerberus.de).

ACCOMMODATION

● **SMALL RADICAL HOUSING CO-OPERATIVE** committed to nonviolent revolution seeks new members. Send description of self and politics: Jigsaw, Box X, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ.

● **YOUNG WOMAN**, working with Pax Christi (Catholic peace movement), looking for accommodation in North London area. Shared house or community would be first preference. Room in a family home considered. Please contact Anja on 0181-800 4612.

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● **CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB** 1998 wall calendar. US\$7.95 + postage (USA \$1.25; Canada, Mexico \$2.00; other countries \$3.50). Order from: CLAB, PO Box 83466, Lincoln, NE 68501, USA. Visa & MC accepted, e-mail catcal@aol.com.

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sent from the Soviet Union to the War Resisters' International 1923-1929.

New pamphlet edited by Peter Brock.

44pp. £3.00 including postage from: War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

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Contact: **War Resisters' International**, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, UK; fax +44-171-278 0444; e-mail warresisters@gn.apc.org.

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**Biramo
CHOOSING
Mir
PEACE
Zajedno
TOGETHER**

War Resisters' International
22nd Triennial Conference
19-24 September 1998
Poreč, Croatia

**Hosted by
Anti-War Campaign
Croatia**

CHOOSING

not imposing, or having imposed

PEACE

the condition where people can fulfill themselves, secure that their rights are respected

TOGETHER

not separated by ethnic ideologies,
not oppressed by divisions of class or gender

Nearly everyone says "we want peace", but what kind of peace and brought about by what means?

War Resisters' International's 22nd Triennial Conference will bring together peace activists from the Balkans with their counterparts in many countries and every continent for an exchange of experience and vision, and to work out new strategies of cooperation.

PROGRAMME

Choosing Peace Together
Justice After War
The Death of Conflict Resolution
Men's Agenda, Women's Agenda
Civil Action for Peace

PLENARIES

THEME GROUPS

Nonviolence and Social Empowerment
Reconstruction and Democratisation
Identity and Conflict
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